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INTERVIEW WITH WENDELL PHILLIPS.

Special Correspondence of the Herald.

STERLING, Mass., Sept. 8, 1867.

THE irrepressible negro suffrage and negro equality advocate general, Wendell Phillips, is just now spending a Summer vacation remote from all the din and turmoil of cities. He has pitched his eyrie away up among the hills of Sterling, Worcester county, Massachusetts, some 50 miles from Boston. Here, in a large and comfortable farm-house, he has put up his household gods and lives very much the life of a recluse. His favorite volumes, however, are still his companions, and with these and in preparing some lectures which he intends delivering the coming season, all his time is employed. His relaxation from study consists in rides along the winding hilly roads, and in enjoying the delightful landscape which stretches away in all directions from the high plateau on which his temporary home is situated. A correspondent of the *Herald* travelling in the vicinity called upon Mr. Phillips at a late hour on Saturday evening last, and was very cordially received. The conversation which ensued naturally turned on the absorbing topics of the day—Grant, President Johnson, Congress, impeachment, the Presidency, candidates, etc. On all these Mr. Phillips touched freely but very briefly, though notes were taken in his presence, and he knew the chiel would surely "prent 'em." The correspondent's suggestive reference to Gen. Grant drew out the following criticism on the gallant General :

A CHAPTER ON GRANT.

Not believing much in Grant myself, either in his civil capacity to govern, or in his republican principles, I can see that he is the stake played for at Washington. Both parties are playing their cards for this. The Johnson party are anxious to get Grant into their hands, in which case they will so compromise him that his popularity and reputation will be damaged to such an extent as to render any after opposition of his, should he attempt such, perfectly harmless. This was the object of making him Secretary of War. And he has fully, thus far, come up to their expectations. The conservative Republicans, on the other hand, are anxious to clutch him as their trump card. But as for Grant himself, he has done nothing but blunder since he took Stanton's place. He has not strengthened his position in any way. He is distrusted by the President, and he is fast losing the confidence of the people and all the popularity he possessed ; and unless his friends Trumbull, Schenck and Washburne come to his rescue he will be lost to sight very soon. I do not think it is honorable or politic in a man to accept of office as Grant has, and to issue orders none of which he approves, but against all of which he delights to protest. And still Gen. Grant is the pivot of our present affairs. In the melee that is going on he will lose all chance of being taken as the candidate of any party for the next Presidency. I do not believe in the reports that Grant conferred with Stanton before he succeeded him and took possession of the office. I believe, and when the truth comes out I will be found in the right, that Grant at once accepted the office, and the first intimation received was the note in which Grant so informed him. This conference business is all an invention of Grant's friends, and the story that he had a private understanding with Stanton is all gammon, put forward to save his reputation. I am very confident of this. The story of the conference I do not believe, and I have the most thorough faith that when the truth is known it will be found that Grant took the office of Secretary of War without any previous consultation with Stanton, thus proving a readiness to give the President a degree of support beyond what his friends are willing to allow. I have no more faith in Grant to-day than I had six months ago, and certainly the great mass of the people have lost faith in him since his acceptance of Stanton's place. I think if he turns round now and proves loyal to the American people, it will be in consequence of undergoing a change of heart in the very trial through which he is now passing. He has evinced no desire to carry out what had been Stanton's purposes. He has allied himself with new friends, with Johnson and Seward, whose whole aim is to use him for their own ends, and discard him when he has served their purpose. I do not see any self-respect or consistency in the leader of a great nation submitting to issue orders he disapproves, merely contenting himself with protesting against them. He has gained nothing by going into the War Department. He can do nothing as Secretary of War he could not do better as General. I think now, unless his friends Trumbull and Washburne prevent him making some unpardonable mistake, the country will look to Sheridan or some other military favorite for President.

THE PRESIDENT, CONGRESS, IMPEACHMENT AND RESISTANCE.

The question being broached, Mr. Phillips gave his views as follows :

I confess I do not see what object the President can have in provoking impeachment unless prepared to resist it when it comes. He must know that his present course will naturally precipitate measures, strengthen the hands of Congress and compel Congress to impeach him. The conclusion is that he would not pursue this course if he did not, by some well considered plan and method, intend to resist it. There is no doubt a method in this madness of his. The great problem is, what plan of resistance has he devised ; what instruments will he use ? I, myself, do not think it is out of the range of probability that he will refuse to recognize Congress. He may, by the counsel of Black and the Blairs, make an effort to refer the question of the constitutionality of Congress to some popular convention. In this way he may hope to divide public sentiment without recourse to actual violence. But be the means what they may, resistance to the impeachment of Congress is determined on by the President or he never would persevere in his present course. The whole scope and object of the policy at Washington is at last clear in this respect—that the Johnson party are in some way prepared to resist the action of Congress, impeachment or no impeachment.

"LITTLE MAC" REDIVIVUS.

Your correspondent here referred to a Boston bulletin newspaper announcing that the President had recalled "Little Mac" to Washington. "Yes," resumed Mr. Phillips, after a few moments' thought, "there may be something in that. The man may be mad enough to think that if he could intervene some chasm, effect some breach between Grant and the army, it might be useful to have McClellan near. Some of the dust of West Point may still attach to him, and Johnson's recall of him now looks as if he thought it possible that the appearance of an old idol would secure him the army in case of necessity. It certainly looks as if he meditated strong resistance. I think he would hardly be crazy enough to resist with force the Congress of the United States. But, he added, no one knows how blind mad some of the Southerners are and some of the Democratic politicians who are running around the President. No Southern man ever understood the North, and I don't believe that Johnson understands it ; therefore, in speculating on the ignorance that would lead him to make any mad attempt, that fact must be taken into account.

CONGRESS'S GREAT MISTAKE.

The great mistake Congress made was being persuaded into adjourning by Sherman and Fessenden. Johnson was thus left alone to carry out "My Policy" unchecked. I hold Sherman and Fessenden and Trumbull to a great extent responsible for the present distracted position of affairs. The Johnson movement represents one element. He allies himself to the Democratic party, and that party, always knowing what it wants, is always ready to fight for it. The conservative Republicans inherit a timidity and a confusion of objects and motives which prevents their ever knowing what they want and from ever holding with a firm hand what they gain. Between two such parties, it is easy to see which will whip the other. I hold the adherents of Gen. Grant and Secretary Chase, through their political intrigues, responsible. I do not believe Congress would have adjourned if it had not been for the wish of these two partisan cliques. The object was to prevent the possibility of any advantage to Wade by the question of impeachment coming up. It is impossible to credit that intelligent men as these conservative leaders are, in Washington itself, with all the means of information at their hands, they could be ignorant of the danger which threatened the country. They could not be ignorant of it, and so they deliberately sacrificed the probable safety of the country to their party engineering. I do not believe in this bargaining and huckstering for impeachment. This engineering to get Wade out and Trumbull in as Vice-President, so that the latter should succeed Johnson in case of impeachment, is not right. The country should go forward simply, without mixture, to impeach, and let the result follow, and no intrigues as to who should step into the Presidential shoes. It seems to me, now, that impeachment will be the first measure brought before Congress. I do not think there will be a fight over impeachment. The great question will be whether, being impeached, Johnson cannot be suspended from office ? That will be the struggle. To leave him in power from December till the question be decided would be madness. The great question, therefore, will be, not as to impeachment, which, unless there come some great change in the current of events, is inevitable, but can he be suspended from office from the moment articles of impeachment are presented ? Will the loyal American people permit a treacherous Executive to exercise unchecked sway for months ? I will not so discredit the sound sense and patriotism of the American people as to think so. I think the first step at this time should be to wake up the loyal elements of the Republican party to the danger that is before the country ; to call an assembly of the whole people, or a Convention of all the loyal Governors, like that held at Altoona during the war, to devise some plan to thwart the mad ambition of Johnson. We ought not to allow the sixty days to pass without all proper moral checks being provided that can bear upon the Executive. He has yet sixty days before the meeting of Congress, and in that time he could do immense harm ; he could put affairs in such a shape that it would take years to rectify. I believed in impeachment two years ago. In July, 1864, I undertook to say that Johnson had Tylerized—that he had deserted his party, as Tyler had done before him. And for this men ridiculed me. Then, in the October following, I undertook to say, "Johnson is not a mistaken friend, but he is an embittered foe." And I believe now, that from that time to this he has been ever moved by one object, which is to defeat the results of the war ; and this present scheme of amnesty is the last effort of Johnson and the Southern party to get such a control over the State as will enable them substantially to erase all the good results of the war. Prominent Senators from the Middle States have boasted often during the last three years that when the Southern States get back they would so shape their laws, under the old idea of States' rights, as would throw the colored race back into substantial serfdom. This is no idle or groundless suspicion. It has been openly declared as the determination of those Senators, over and over again, on the floor of the Senate.

MR. PHILLIPS'S IDEA OF THE FIRST DUTY OF CONGRESS.

My idea, therefore, is that the first act of Congress should be to impeach and suspend the President. The next, that Congress should incorporate in the Constitution three more limitations over State sovereignty : First—That no State should ever discriminate in the elective franchise on account of race or color, and, if I had my individual way, on account of sex. Second—That every State should provide a system of free schools, and if they omitted to do that, the National government should do it at the expense of the State so negligent ; and third—which ought, however, to be the first—that every man, every person born on American soil or of American parents anywhere, is a citizen both of the nation and of the State to which the parents belong. That is, I would put the definition of citizenship and the protection of the citizen in the hands of the National government, and not in the hands of a State government, and make them universal instead of local. And indeed I shall not think the war is ended till these amendments are incorporated in the American Constitution.

MR. PHILLIPS ON THE FINANCIAL DANGERS.

The subject of the finances of the country coming up, Mr. Phillips said : I was very much ridiculed two years ago for venturing to prophesy that the two great dangers that most imminently threaten us were financial dangers. The first, repudiation of our own debt ; second, assumption of the rebel debt. Now, the signs are growing thicker every day that both these prophecies are beginning to take shape and form, especially among the Democratic party. Now, Mr. Greeley, who ridiculed me so much when I spoke of repudiation and assumption as things to be guarded against, comes out himself on the same subject, and is writing on it in his own paper and in the *Independent.* But this is not just now a pressing danger—the financial question is yet in the future. A more pressing one is the attempt on the part of weak Republicans to save their party at the risk of such a Presidential outbreak as that which is now upon us, and which may throw us into disorder and anarchy for years.

THE AMNESTY PROCLAMATION AN INDICATION OF A TREASONABLE STATE OF MIND.

On this point Mr. Phillips expressed himself as follows :

I consider the issuing of the amnesty proclamation by the President an act of as gross resistance as would be an armed resistance to Congress. It indicates a treasonable state of mind and purpose. It is nothing but another effort to build up rebeldom.

GOVERNMENTAL.

With respect to the position of the government before the country, Mr. Phillips said :

I do not think we have got, in any proper sense of the word, a government, when it comes to us almost under official recognition from Kentucky that, although four hundred persons have been murdered in Kentucky within a year, not one person has been punished. Gen. Thomas himself says that he cannot get a military hold on the murderers of Maj. Bridgewater, who, after shooting down their victim, piercing him with eighteen bullets, surrendered to the Sheriff, but were afterwards acquitted on the ground of justifiable homicide. I do not consider that a nation that permits such a state of things to exist, has got, what is, in the proper sense of the word, a government. Washington is at present in the hands of factions, between the chiefs of which is raging a struggle as to who shall clutch the reins of power. But there is no government. No protection for life or property in one half of the Union, and the protection that exists for life and property in the other half is not due to the Federal government.

MR. PHILLIPS DOES NOT DESPOND.

But no man desponds. If we had not had a Bull Run defeat, and the incapacity and imbecility of a McClellan, we would never have had emancipation. Our past defeats have been but the seeds of unexpected triumphs. If Johnson had met Congress in an amiable and compromising manner two years ago, the ten unreconstructed States would be to-day voting against the just results of the war. Thus to-day Johnson's treason is the education of the people, only that we unfortunately pay a great deal more than we ought for it. Had Lincoln only known where at one time he stood, he might have saved two years of war. If the majorities in the Senate and House had known as much as Stevens and Sumner and Wade two years ago, they could have prevented two years of anarchy in the South—have saved that land from the crime of blood—and yet have secured to us then all we can get after the fight. I will not so discredit the American people as to say that they needed the treason of Johnson to discover the proper measures of reconstruction. It is not the common sense of the people that has retarded the just growth of revolution. The ambition of a few has done this. It is the selfish policy of a half-dozen interested self-seeking Republicans. I don't think the people need light ; nor do their leaders, beyond a few who are seeking their own self-aggrandizement at the expense of party, government and country.

THE ELECTIONS IN CALIFORNIA AND KENTUCKY.

Upon this subject Mr. Phillips briefly remarked : The result of the late elections in the States of California and Ohio is fraught with peril to the Republican party. For how can the Republicans of the North insist upon the Southern people doing that which they refuse to do themselves.

MR. PHILLIPS'S VIEWS ON SUPPOSED PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES.

SHERIDAN.

I do not think, without wishing to detract from the merits of Sheridan, that he carried his rule in Louisiana to any extreme extent. Many of the police of New Orleans, who attacked and murdered the conventionists and other unoffending men in that city were retained on the police force, and are there to this day. This showed great moderation, and indeed culpable forbearance on the part of Sheridan ; so I contend that Johnson's resistance to reconstruction South is not resistance to extreme radicalism there ; that is merely the pretence. His resistance is meant not primarily in favor of the Southern disfranchised classes ; but its chief purpose is to break up and divide the Republican party. Gen. Sheridan is hardly the man at present.

GEN. THOMAS.

I think Gen. Thomas would make a very available military candidate. He is able and honest, and above the seductions of party influences.

SECRETARY CHASE.

I suggested the name of Mr. Chase, when Mr. Phillips at once responded, Mr. Chase has not an element of popularity—I think he would be an honest President ; but he has not a single element that would tend to make him one. So much for Chase.

GEN. SHERMAN.

With regard to Gen. Sherman I consider him the best soldier of the war, and the worst statesman. So much for Sherman.

MR. PHILLIPS'S CHOICE FOR PRESIDENT.

Mr. Phillips—Would you like to know the man of my choice ?

Correspondent—Very much, sir.

Mr. Phillips—If I had the naming of the man, Thad. Stevens would be the next President of the United States. I believe he is now in good health, but if not, give me but six months of him in the White House, and I would give more for those six months of his than for most other people's four years.

CHIEF-JUSTICE CHASE'S POSITION DEFINED.

Mr. Phillips, recurring to Secretary Chase as a probable candidate for the Presidency, said : I believe that Mr. Chase's ambition is satisfied. But it is idle to speculate upon any chances he (Chase) would have. He has no support outside of the National banks, and that is an isolated influence. I think Jay Cooke and the other financial kings of the country are making desperate efforts to bring him forward as a candidate. But one thing his friends have lost for Chase—that is, the sympathy of the radicals, and Chase himself is too radical to win the sympathy of the conservatives, and so between these two stools he will fall to the ground. I do not think these friends of his are able either to have him nominated or elected. Chase himself belongs to the radical section of the Republicans, and it is nothing but the Presidential fever that tempts his friends to retain him if possible in the conservative section of that party in the hope of gaining its support for their man. Chase does not belong there. His whole life in the past would rather rank him with Sumner and Stevens than with such men as Fessenden and Sherman. As I said before, between these two parties—the conservative and radical sections of the Republican party—Chase must come to the wall.

SECRETARY M'CULLOCH.

With regard to the outcry from certain quarters against Secretary McCulloch, I do not believe there can be an effort to remove him from his position arising from any honest motive. I do not think the Radicals can have a wish to remove him, and those who desire to remove him are actuated by the hope of getting their hands into the Treasury.

THE FINANCIAL OBLIGATIONS OF THE GOVERNMENT.

I have but one thing to say with regard to the finances of the government ; that is, that the pledges of the government, whatever they may be, must be kept. Any obligations to which the government is honorably bound, must be kept at any cost, and that party must go to the bottom that will undertake to skulk from these obligations under any pretence whatsoever.

THE AMNESTY PROCLAMATION—IMPEACHMENT.

I think the Amnesty proclamation seals Johnson's fate. If we are ever to impeach a President—if any Presidential crime ever justifies impeachment, this does. The Amnesty proclamation is nothing more nor less than an armed resistance against Congress. It is just as serious an offence against the Constitution and the laws of the country as if the President sent a regiment into the Senate chamber. It is a more cunning way of assailing Congress, because it is covert, and not so likely to attract a full measure of public indignation. But really it does not differ in quality from sending armed soldiers to the Capitol. And all its sham constitutional sanction, or pretence of constitutional sanction, is the hollowest of all possible shams.

RESIGNATION—THE HERALD'S VIEW SUSTAINED.

I see the *Herald* starts the idea that Johnson should resign. It is a most astute suggestion. It would save Johnson from the infamy of history, if anything could save him therefrom. The only mistake the *Herald* makes in this is that it presupposes in Johnson a manliness that does not belong to his character. If Johnson was capable at this moment of the lofty and magnanimous statesmanship which would lead him to resign, he could never be the dangerous and treacherous President he shows himself to be.

MEETING OF LOYAL GOVERNORS—THE ATTITUDE TO BE TAKEN.

A meeting of the loyal Governors of all the States ought to be convened forthwith, to take measures to present the true attitude of the President and Congress before the people. Deeds, not words, must, however, be the order of the day. Should they meet for words it would result not only ridiculously, but disastrously. They should meet with the same purpose and object they had in view when they met during the war—in order to satisfy all the loyal people of the country that in case any madman should attempt any revolutionary measure, the whole physical force of the country is in the hands of loyal men and would be used to preserve the Constitution and the Union in any emergency.

WENDELL PHILLIPS.

From the Leavenworth (Kansas) Conservative.

THIS distinguished orator and philanthropist appears to us to be most unjustly dealt with, wilfully by many, and ignorantly by the balance of those who denounce him.

From early boyhood until the commencement of the rebellion, we listened to the voice of this noble man, feeling certain he was right, and irresistibly swept forward along with the little army of anti-slavery men, in advance of whom, bearing aloft the uncompromising banner of unconditional emancipation, he forced public sentiment toward the crisis hour of the noble cause.

When slavery, hitherto only threatening to defend itself by physical methods of resistance, appeared upon the field armed and breathing defiance, and sought to capture the Capitol of the Nation, and when, cut off by these enemies from their President and his officers, the people of the North began to be resolute, under the flag of the country, Wendell Phillips appeared for the first time in his public life, and said, "Place a Northern man and a Northern bayonet on every square foot of soil within the District of Columbia."

Whether, prior to this, his theory of "no union with slaveholders" was right or wrong, we are not attempting to say. But, having whipped with scorpions those who were colluding with the South ; having led, year after year, the battalions of freedom, slowly but surely to their last great struggle ; encouraging the ardent, scourging the cowardly, bracing the weak, showing no mercy to traitors, supporting all methods of emancipation while pursuing his own course, so soon as this great man saw that slavery would perish if the sword was used with vigor, he bent all his energies to force the government to a vigorous prosecution of the war. He spared none. Even the immortal Lincoln, when swayed by timid counsels, he reproached without hesitation. If, in the Administration, there was one man halting, hesitating, or timid, the eagle eye discovered him, and from platform to platform, swaying with matchless power the vast throngs who hung upon his utterances, he dealt out those stinging rebukes which drove the trembler back to fearlessness and vigor in the discharge of his duties. The loyal men of America owe Wendell Phillips a huge debt of gratitude. His judgments, however hastily formed, have generally been justified by time.

To-day, while launching his invectives at those he deems weak, treacherous, cowardly, false, or corrupt, the world knows enough of him to say, he is conscientious and means well for the country.

While we are not of those who follow him in all the measures which his reason and conscience lead him to advocate, and differing, as we shall continue to, on many fundamental issues, we still regard him as the people of Athens esteemed Aristides, whom, having surnamed "The Just," they afterward ostracised for the exercise of that incomparable quality, as one whose virtue is his only fault.

If conscientious criticism is a crime, then Wendell Phillips is an an infamous offender.

OUR WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENCE.

From the National (Salem, N. J.) Standard.

WASHINGTON, Aug. 30, 1867.

A. J. is on a bender—on a *bust.*

He has got down to the verge of the pit of destruction. He can't stop himself. He must plunge over.

People here are looking hourly for his military arrest by Gen. Grant, for Gen. Grant cannot stand by and see the government imperilled by a traitor and a madman. He is dealing with A. J. as gently as possible ; but gentleness must give place to sternness, and Grant is as stern as he is gentle.

The withdrawal by Grant of his protest against the order of removing Sheridan and assigning Hancock to his place, is regarded as a prelude to another form of protest against the whole conduct of A. J.—a protest that may come in the shape of an arrest. A military subordinate may arrest his military superior, if convinced of the inimical designs of the latter against the honor of his flag. Let A. J. only attempt a few steps further in the direction of treason to the laws, and he will find himself put out of the way of doing mischief.

In such an event, the government would go on as smoothly as it did when poor Lincoln was murdered, and old Ben. Wade would take command as calmly as a Summer's morning rises over a landscape. The prisoner could be tried for his offences against the law military, by a court martial, or he could be impeached by Congress when it meets, or he could be made to wait the law's delay, just as he made Jeff. Davis await it, and perhaps get Mr. Greeley to become bail for him, which Mr. G. would not refuse, of course, in the kindness of his heart.

A. J. does not ask his man Stansbery to construe the laws any more for him. He has taken it upon himself to play the Attorney-General. He has ignored Mr. Brinckley, the Deputy Attorney General, by excluding him from the Cabinet meetings, because of the miserable fist he made in the Conover affair. It is all as well, that he has taken to interpreting the laws himself, for he will only the sooner entangle himself in its meshes.

I suppose you know that Seward is at the bottom of this whole affair. If you don't, you people out of Washington must be very dumb. Seward knows how to manage A. J. to a T, and A. J. is just the very man to be managed by Seward. A. J. thinks and believes that he is doing all this himself, of his own volition, but it is all the work of Seward, who is fixed upon A. J.'s ruin, either by military arrest or by impeachment. At first Seward was going out of the Cabinet as a part of the play, but he stays now, for he has carried all his points without going out. He is going to buy British Columbia, the Sandwich Islands, the Bay Samana, the Island of St. Thomas, the Island of Cuba, the Northern States of Mexico, and if he can be next President, the whole British America ! There is more truth than poetry in all this.

Impeachment of A. J. is a fixed fact, if Grant does not squelch him beforehand. Washburne Grant's mentor, swears that the Old Devil, as he elegantly styles A. J., is bound to be broken. On every hand the cry of impeachment is rising on the air, even Mr. Greeley is for it. All the candidates for the Presidency are now for it. When a dog gets going down hill, everybody is for kicking him. Not a bit of objection, when A. J. is the dog.

THE PROGRAMME OF THE COMING COUP D'ETAT.

From the N. Y. Tribune.

WASHINGTON, Friday Sept. 13, 1867.

FOR several days past, men here who enjoy the reputation of being confidential advisers of the President, have been giving out that Johnson has said that he would remain quiet until after the Fall elections. The following, however, which is from the Washington correspondence of a Charleston paper of the 12th inst. is significant, for the reason that its author is a writer for the President's organ here, and a warm friend of the President. He is an old Democratic politician and secessionist, who, when Buchanan ruled at the White House, was honored with being called in to consult and advise at the Cabinet meetings. Here is what he says :

The President is expected to act upon his new line of operations in the course of a week, before he leaves for the Antietam Monument celebration. He is to issue the Amnesty proclamation, eject Mr. Seward from the Cabinet, and invite Postmaster-General Randall to resign. It is also asserted that another proclamation, following up that of Sept. 3, about civil supremacy, will be issued, applying the principles therein asserted to some very important subjects. That proclamation asserts the Executive power in the broadest terms, and next we are to know what the President will do with it. Of course, it did not require all this parade of constitutional prerogative for the mere purpose of censuring Gen. Sickles for alleged hindrance of a process from the United States Court of North Carolina. The President has been often advised and urged by the peace Democrats (Copperheads) to perform some grand *coup d'etat*, by which the people would be at once awe-struck and delighted, and thus save himself from the disgrace of causeless impeachment and removal, without resistance. It was even suggested that he would disperse this XLth Congress last July, but he was not then up to the mark. There was no stuff in the whole Cabinet for any energetic movement. Beside the President does not always act upon the theories which he adopts. He may, however, if properly supported by those around him, announce in a proclamation, at an early day, or before the meeting of Congress, that it is in his constitutional right and duty to see that the Constitution, as the supreme law of the land, shall be preserved inviolate, and that as the acts of Congress are unconstitutional they are null and void, and shall not be further executed. An issue will thus be made between the President, who stands on the Constitution, and the Rump Congress, which body is "hanging on the verge" of the Constitution, and claims, in fact, to act outside of the Constitution. The President must of course have as an adviser and advocate a bold, strong man, before he can thus set Congress at defiance. Mr. Seward would oppose his new position, but Judge Black is quite ready to support it with the utmost ardor and ability. The State Department will be offered to Judge Black, and he will accept it with the utmost confidence in the justice, and also of the success of his views. If Judge Black's advice is really adopted and acted upon, it may be that the President, in some crisis of the consequent struggle with Congress, will become impatient or hesitate, and that the Judge will have occasion to repeat the exclamation imputed to Stafford, when he found that Charles had deserted him. In connection with this it may be stated that Johnson men here assert that he has resolved upon sending to Congress, on the day they assemble, a message, the purport of which will be his late proclamation of civil supremacy. Every government official throughout the country is being supplied with a copy of this proclamation, and Johnson intends making a final thing of it by getting it to Congress in official form.

It is now definitely settled by the Executive authority to suggest to the several District Military Commanders the extension of the time until the 1st of October for the correction of and admission to registry of those who may produce proofs of legal qualifications, and fix as the time for the elections the first Monday of November, in order to secure uniformity in all the Southern States. No order will be issued on the subject, as the Reconstruction Acts give the District Commanders discretionary powers, but they will be promptly informed of the recommendation or suggestion in official form.

There is a good deal of anxiety existing here as to what the President is going to do in regard to reopening and extending the term for registration in the South for the purpose of allowing those to whom he lately granted amnesty to register. Immediately after the proclamation was made public, he let it be understood that he had no intention of reopening registration, but within the last few days he has been veering around, and now intimates that he will reopen the lists, notwithstanding the seventh section of the July Reconstruction act, which, in substance, says that registration in Southern States shall not be extended beyond the 1st of October, except by order of the District Commanders. The same section orders Boards of Registration to reopen their lists at least fourteen days previous to the day of the election, and gives five days for a revision. This, it is claimed, removes the necessity of an order from the President, but he asserts that the law is unconstitutional, and he will raise the issue with Congress by ordering the District Commanders to reopen and extend the registration.

A. SHORTER WAY.

From the National (Salem, N. J.) Standard.

THERE is a shorter way of ridding the country of the traitor accidentally filling the Executive Chair at Washington than impeachment. *It is by military arrest.*

It is the duty of a subordinate officer to arrest his superior in command, if he is persuaded of the infidelity of that superior to his country and his flag. Maj. Lynde was so arrested by his Lieutenant in 1861, upon a well-grounded suspicion that he intended to betray his command of 500 men into the hands of the rebel Gen. Sibley, in New Mexico, and he was sustained by the government in that extraordinary act, for Lynde was dismissed. There is now no doubt that this brave Lieutenant saved the detachment and the honor of his country at the same time. All military history is full of just such instances of patriotism, in the presence of premeditated treason.

Andrew Johnson has done more than enough to warrant his military arrest—he is now daily and hourly committing offences against the laws and integrity of the country that he should be made to expiate under the law military. It is not error of judgment that signalizes his course of conduct. It is deliberate purpose to break down the government, which he is charged to maintain, as its chief Executive. He sets aside the laws under pretence of executing them. He is undermining the authority and power of Congress, by bringing its laws into contempt. He assumes to be the only exponent of the popular will, in utter defiance of the expressed will of the people's law-makers in Congress assembled. He puts at nought the Judiciary and construes the laws to suit his own purposes. He is fanning discord in the nation by his conduct. He is rekindling the expiring embers of rebellion amongst the rebels of the late war. He countenances the idea, industriously circulated by his creatures, of dispersing Congress by Proclamation, as an illegal body, hanging on the verge of the government. He will not permit any of his Cabinet to act under any construction of the laws, but such as he holds.

Now, Gen. Grant holds the reins of the War Department, and is the President's military subordinate. He is just as much bound to see that the Republic receives no harm as the acting President. If the acting President, as Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, meditates treason to his country, or gives evidence of his design to overturn its institutions, and Gen. Grant is convinced of these or any other unpatriotic purposes, he is bound to arrest his superior officer in a military point of view, and prevent him from executing his intentions, without waiting for impeachment. Nine-tenths of the nation would sustain Gen. Grant, if he were to take this bold and necessary step, not by mere resolutions of thanks to him for his energy, but by electing him by acclamation to the Presidency, for such an act would satisfy the whole world of his fidelity to American Democracy or Republicanism. Has Gen. Grant the courage to take this step ? The coming conduct of Andrew Johnson will force the decision of the question upon Gen. Grant sooner than we may expect. We begin to believe in Grant, since his letter to the President, and we look for the President's military arrest for high treason against the United States if Gen. Grant would preserve the government, which we are sure he wants to do.

Andrew Johnson will not fail to furnish the club to break his own head with, and Gen. Grant is the very man to use that club most effectively, which we predict he will do, to the intense rejoicing of all good men and true. History is full of snap judgments against oppressors, but this would be one that would eclipse all others.

On the fatal night of his White House 22d of February drunken speech, Seward made a similar one at the Cooper Institute in New York, but it was prophetic. He said, some of the officers of the ship of State, then in the breakers, would be washed overboard, and if it should be he, he begged his audience not to mourn over him, for the ship would get into the haven safe and sound. Some of his friends deprecated such a fatality. "Have no fear of that," said he to his familiars—"for I have taken care to lash myself in the round top, just as Farragut did, and if anybody goes overboard, it will be the *man at the wheel !*" meaning the President. This prediction is fast approaching its fulfilment.

We have always deemed McClellan to be the ablest General who ever led an army—in the interest of the enemy. So we deem Seward to be the ablest statesman who ever lived—in destroying his rivals for supreme power. He is master wherever he serves. He went for Mr. Lincoln only when he found he could not displace him in the affections of the people, but he blasted the hopes of all his rivals, beginning with Fremont and ending with Chase. He is playing the same game now. He is using Andrew Johnson as the ball to knock down Presidential ten pins, and when he is done with his tool, he will discard him, and leave him to the fate which awaits him in November next.

Could any policy have been adopted by Andrew Johnson, leading more directly to his impeachment and removal ? Nothing but the cowardice of the aspirants for the Presidency has prevented this result. Seward sees this and hurries the President to the commision of offences that will force Congress to remove the offender. Every act since the suspension of Stanton drives right on to impeachment and removal. The ancients used to say that whom the gods destroy they first make mad. Andrew Johnson's god, Seward, first makes his victim drunk, for none but a drunken man would do the things that Andrew Johnson is doing, and will continue to do, to the end of his tether.

It is now rumored that Seward himself will go out of the Cabinet in obedience to the President's wishes. If he does, it will only be a part of the play. In that event, the composition of the new Cabinet will be Seward's. It will be aimed directly at the integrity of the Republican party. Fishy Republicans enough will be found to serve the Mammon of the White House, in order to disorganize the party sufficiently for Seward's candidacy for next President. The precursor to this, is to be the sacrifice of Andrew Johnson upon the altar of impeachment, which Seward dreams will be atonement enough for his sins, and his restoration to the confidence of his old party, and his election to the long coveted mahogany Chair of State.

He has forever destroyed the possibility of Grant's Republican candidacy for President, by throwing over his too willing head the net of the War Office, in whose meshes he has become entangled, and he is now turning upon Sherman to destroy him by consociation with the corpse of Andrew Johnson. But whether in or out of the Cabinet, Seward will continue to be master of the Administration, and will fight a desperate fight for the Republican nomination. But he can never get it. In driving Edwin M. Stanton out of the Cabinet he has overleaped his ambition, and conjured up a rival whom none of his wiles and arts can depose from the affections of the people, as he will find to his great grief.

Meantime, we feel sure that we shall come to thank Seward for the impending doom of Andrew Johnson, just as we now thank Jeff. Davis for being the main cause of the abolition of slavery, and yet hold the two in equal respect—which is none at all. Every good cause must have its Pharoahs !

THE BORDER STATES REPUBLICAN CONVENTION.

THE ORGANIZATION—LETTER FROM SENATOR SUMNER —THE RESOLUTIONS.

BALTIMORE, Md., Sept. 12.

THE Border State Republican Convention assembled in the Front street Theatre at noon to-day. Delegates were present from Delaware, Tennessee, Missouri, Kentucky, District of Columbia, and Maryland, for the purpose, in the language of the Convention, "to advance the cause of Manhood Suffrage and demand of Congress the passage of the Sumner-Wilson bill." There was no distinction on account of race or color in the Convention. A temporary organization was effected, with the Hon. Lewis Thompson of Delaware in the chair, James W. Clayton of Maryland, Secretary. A Committee on Resolutions were appointed, consisting of the Hon. J. A. Cresswell of Maryland, the Hon. R. R. Butler of Tennessee, the Hon. R. S. Van Horn of Missouri, J. J. Stewart of Maryland, N. M. Jenkins of Delaware, R. Stockett Matthews of Maryland, David Goshorn of West Virginia, W. N. G. Brown of Maryland, Anthony Higgins of Delaware. The following permanent officers were elected : President, the Hon. Horace Maynard ; Vice-Presidents, the Hon. R. T. Van Horn of Missouri, Col. J. H. Clendening of Missouri, the Hon. R. R. Butler of Tennessee, the Rev. Daniel Watkins of Tennessee, Hon. J. A. Cresswell of Maryland, Harmon Robinson of Delaware, Robert H. Cummens of Delaware, Samuel Segars of Delaware, David Goshorn of West Virginia, Mr. Gallagher of West Virginia, R. T. Johnson, District of Columbia, A. P. Clark, District of Columbia.

Speeches were made by the Hon. Messrs. Maynard, Cresswell, and others. Letters from white and colored distinguished politicians, among them one from Senator Sumner, in which, after stating his inability to be present, says :

"Congress will leave undone what it ought to do if it fails to provide promptly for the establishment of Equal Rights, whether political or civil, everywhere throughout the Union. This is a solemn duty which cannot be shirked or postponed. The idea is intolerable that any State, under any pretension of State rights, can set up a political oligarchy within its borders, and then call itself a Republican government. I insist with all my soul that such a government must be rejected as inconsistent with the requirements of the Declaration of Independence. Faithfully yours,

"CHARLES SUMNER."

The following resolutions were adopted :

First : It is the duty of Congress under the National Constitution to protect the equal rights of all loyal American citizens, regardless of their complexion, for the reason that to admit the right of a State to limit the franchise to one class, admits its right to limit it to any extent, an abuse effectually guarded against by the Constitution in requiring that the United States shall guarantee to every State in the Union a Republican form of government.

Second : That with this duty placed upon it by the fundamental law of the Republic, the Congress that has prescribed a code of equal rights for nine States lately in rebellion, cannot in person or in justice withhold its patient audience, nor its swift and thorough relief the States, a majority of whose people have always faithfully adhered to the Republic.

Third : That this action of Congress, demanded by Constitutional authority, would not only be an act of justice to individuals and a measure of protection in the Border States, but a new bond of unity to the Republic, and reasserting the right of man as proclaimed by the Declaration of Independence.

Fourth : That we respectfully urge Congress to act bravely and thoroughly in the adoption of whatever measures they may determine to be requisite for the establishment of peace and prosperity throughout the whole land ; and we expect them to repose full faith in the courage, loyalty and intelligence of the masses of the people, who regard no perils as more to be shunned than timidity and indifference to their representatives, and who will always sustain Congress in their efforts to establish by law the most thorough development of true Republican institutions.

Fifth : That while we affirm the Constitutional power and duty of Congress, by statute, to secure to the States a Republican form of government, yet we earnestly urge upon Congress to present to the States for their adoption an amendment to the Constitution of the United States providing that no State disfranchise any citizen because of race or color, and thus put beyond the danger of political change the fundamental rights of American citizenship.

The other resolutions approve the action of Congress in the reconstruction of the rebel States, acknowledge the patriotic services of the Hon. E. M. Stanton, and call on Congress to reinstate him, applaud the military services, prudence, and firmness of Gen. Grant, and the country looks to him to execute the Reconstruction acts of Congress.

The tenth section is :

That it is the duty of the House of Representatives, as the paramount necessity of its approaching session, to present articles of impeachment to the Senate for the trial of Andrew Johnson for high crimes and misdemeanors against the Constitution and the laws passed in pursuance thereof, for usurpation of the laws delegated to the Legislative Department of the government, for obstructing, hindering, and delaying the reconstruction of the States lately in rebellion, for the removal of faithful officers in violation of the law, the indecency and indecorum of his public administration, the perverse obstinacy by which he intensifies the disloyalty of the unrepentant rebels, and his persistent opposition to the will of the loyal people of the nation.

The Covention adjourned to the mass meeting.

The mass meeting held to-night by the delegates, in the Front street Theatre, was large and enthusiastic. A number of speeches were made, generally favoring the impeachment of President Johnson.

NO JUSTICE FOR THE NEGRO.

From the London Anti-Slavery Reporter for August.

THE heading to the present article expresses our deliberately-formed opinion. We regret to entertain it, but experience has forced it upon us. There is in the governing quarters no lack of sentimentality on the subject of the wrongs of the African race, but it assumes no vital form, gives proof of its sincerity, while it serves as a cloak for oppression, or, at any rate, for a denial of justice. We cannot bring ourselves to believe that the ruling powers have ever been in real earnest to secure to the African subjects of the crown their full rights as citizens. The government of the day yielded an unwilling assent to emancipation, clogging it with conditions which proved obstructions to the progress of the emancipated ; and legislation for the emancipated colonies has ever since been in favor of the dominant, not of the freed class. Education, which ought to have gone hand in hand with freedom, has been almost wholly neglected, and very little encouragement held out even to the well-educated of the race, to rise in the social scale. From offices of trust and emolument, the colored citizens of our colonies are, as a rule, virtually excluded, so rampant is the pejudice against color, while the masses are designated as "indolent, dishonest, ungrateful, and incapable of self-effort." Every kind of calumny, however absurd, is promulgated against those despised people ; and even our own consuls, in slaveholding countries, do not scruple to unite in the wild outcry against them.*

Within the last two years a total change in the old constitutional form of government by representative institutions has been carried out in four principal West Indian colonies, and it is not improbable that all of them will be made to pass under the Caudine forks of retrogressive legislation. It may be objected that the Jamaica Assembly committed political suicide ; but although that is true in one sense, it is none the less true that the act was perpetrated in a moment of aberration, the result of terror and of the pressure put upon it by the Gover-

* *Vide* Dispatches from Ministers Consul Cowper and Vice-Consul Krugg, Porto Rico. Slave trade Papers, Class B, 1867.—(*Ed. A. S. R.*)

nor, Mr. Eyre. We ourselves never regarded it in any other light, though there is compensation in the rule of Sir John P. Grant, inasmuch as he will at least not govern for a class. Nevertheless, the principle of these changes is not in accordance with the progressive tedencies, nor with the enlightened intelligence of the age, and we must only hope that when the affairs of Jamaica—so sadly disorganized by the miserable misgovernment of Mr. Eyre—are finally settled, and the difficult questions which underlie much of the dissatisfaction admitted to exist are adjusted, a return to representative institutions will be found practicable, and the people will have placed in their hands the power to weed out from the class that has ruled them, men like the supporters of Mr. Eyre and his accomplices.

Our strictures, however, do not apply to Jamaica only, but to all those of our colonies which are peopled with the African race. We hold that no will-established equitable system of government for them exists. They are governed by the caprice of the Colonial Minister for the time being, and by the traditions of the Colonial Office. The friends of the negro find no seat there. The spirit of the old-slaveholding autocracy is still rampant in that department, or the oppresive measures which disgrace our colonial statute-book would never have been recommended for the royal assent. We should have had no ruinous system of immigration imposed upon the masses of the laboring population, compelling them to pay taxes for the introduction of foreign labor to compete with their own. It is even probable that the unoccupied land question, in those colonies which have them, might long ago have been solved, and an end put to the heart-burnings which have arisen out of it. Justice for the negro does not mean that he should enjoy privileges not also granted to his white fellow-subjects, but that these should not have the power of legislating for themselves as a class, and of oppressing those of African descent.

The whole system of the government of our emancipated colonies requires not only a thorough revision, but a radical reform upon some general and equitable principle. If immigration, to wit, is to go on, at any rate let the rule be laid down that those alone who profess to require foreign labor shall be compelled to pay the whole cost of its introduction, and shall also be made pecuniarily responsible if any of the immigrants become a charge upon the public funds. Not a penny of the general taxation ought to go towards the expenditure under this head; and had that prejudiced, one-sided and incapable minister, the late Duke of Newcastle, only been as enlightened and as just as he was pre-eminently the reverse, as a colonial minister, long ago the planters would have been duly admonished not to look to the public purse to pay even one-third of the cost of their immigration schemes.

In a former Number we commented upon the new judiciary system of Jamaica, of which the chief feature is the abolition of trial by jury in certain cases. In Sierra Leone, another colony inhabited by Africans, and indeed a pre-eminently African settlement, this same system has been introduced under Governor Blackall. Considerable pressure has been put upon the Colonial Office to repeal the obnoxious ordinance, but up to the present time without effect. Remonstrances do not immediately meet the eye of the Colonial Minister. They are smuggled out of sight, and private communications are not unfrequently essential to provoke a reply to official letters. The real business of the department is carried on by subordinate but—owing to their position—influential employees, who can and who do often obstruct the course of justice. They withhold documents, earwig the minister, pooh-pooh remonstrances, and, in fact, govern acording to their prejudices, not their rights. The correspondence on this Sierra-Leone matter is most curious as illustrating the crookedness of ministerial ways. The history of the unpopular ordinance abolishing trial by jury in civil actions is simply a scandal. Governor Blackall passed it in an hour, with closed doors, and the parties to it are notoriously in bad repute in the colony. It was the work of Mr. Cardwell, and was probably an heir-loom from his immediate predecessors, for it bears the mark of its parentage. Thanks are due to Mr. C. Buxton for rescuing the correspondence from the waste-paper basket of "the department." It contains the petition—published in a previous number of this journal—of the inhabitants of Sierra Leone against it. Not an averment made by the petitioners is contradicted, notwithstanding that Governor Blackall goes out of his way to assert that the signatures are of persons of no importance in the colony, although he must have known they embrace the names of some of its wealthiest and most respected merchants. The Governor met specific charges against certain individuals interested in the passing of the measure by broad denials, and was afterwards compelled to admit the accuracy of the accusations. He admitted that no public notice of the bill was given before it came up before the Council, and that it passed through the then readings in a sitting of one hour. The Earl of Carnarvon severely censures the whole proceeding, admonishes the Governor that he must rebut the charges against certain individuals by something in the shape of evidence in favor of Ministers Bradshaw, Pike, and Martin, all officials, accused of cruelty to their servants, and after all this grandiloquent display of impartiality, recommends the measure for the royal assent. Inconsistency cannot possibly go further.

The inhabitants of Sierra Leone have, however, we rejoice to perceive, again addressed the Colonial Office. In a memorial to the Duke of Buckingham, protesting against the ordinance, and praying for its repeal, they bring some grave charges against Mr. Huggins, Acting Chief-Justice, and Mr. Montagu, Acting Assistant Judge. They are accused boldly of the grossest immorality and of notorious incompetency. They beg the Colonial Minister to demand of Governor Blackall the production of the police-books containing the records of the cases against Mr. Montagu, and they solicit his removal from office on the ground of his immorality, and also that of Mr. Huggins, on the score of his incompetence. They go on to show that justice is not only not done, but that, under the ordinance, excessive punishment is inflicted, and, in illustration, hand in the following tabular statement.—*Vide* p. 189.

We submit that such a statement as the above cannot go unnoticed, and it fully proves that our opinion is justified by facts.

Let us cite another illustration of the failure of justice. What more flagrant case demanding redress than that of the innocent sufferers by martial law in Jamaica? We will not mention names, for they are legion; but what reply do these unfortunate people obtain from headquarters to their solicitations for redress and compensation? There is a stereotyped form, which we will summarize from actual documents. "Petition to the Queen sent in. Secretary of State unable to advise Her Majesty to interfere. Colonial government cannot entertain application for compensation for arrest and imprisonment during martial law, but specific claim for damage done to property, or for property stolen, under consideration for final submission to her Majesty's government."

Now, it is a mere form of speech to say such petitions are laid before the Queen at all, and the farce had better be omitted. The simple fact is, that the documents come under the notice of no one likely to take the subject-matter up, and press forward the claims. The Jamaica treasury is not only empty, but there is a deficit on the revenue, so that, were it even expedient—which we hold it would not be—to pay compensation out of the general taxation of the island, there is no money to do it with. Our very decided opinion is that all compensations ought to be paid out of the Consolidated Fund, because the suffering was caused by the illegal act of the Governor, and by the brutality of the armed force employed—not to put down a rebellion, but to inflict terror upon a loyal community—and was sanctioned by the Home government, which will not only not prosecute the delinquent Governor, but obstruct the course of justice. If the supporters of Mr. Eyre in Jamaica, Dr. Bowerbank and others, who got up fulsome addresses to the murderer of Gordon, could be mulcted of the sum requisite to cover the amount of compensation to the innocent sufferer, partial justice might be done. These men hounded on Eyre to his ruthless deeds, and ministered to his craven fears, if he ever entertained any of the real character of the disturbance, and are really responsible for what resulted. The real offenders, few in number, are past being mulcted; they paid for their acts of bloodshed with their lives. But why should the innocent suffer, and be made to pay in increased taxation the expenses of Mr. Eyre's reign of terror?

This whole question of compensation will have to be treated as soon as it is possible to bring it forward. It is most unfortunate that the reform debates have been so all-absorbing that no opportunity has presented of bringing the matter forward in Parliament this session; but it will not be allowed to slumber, and we hope a few earnest men may be found to press it to a satisfactory solution.

The Bucks County *Intelligencer*, in a notice of the offer of the position of Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau to Robert Purvis, Esq., says:

"The President has determined to get rid of Gen. Howard, who has filled the position of Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau so acceptably and ably since its establishment. We learn that he has offered the appointment to Robert Purvis, of Byberry, a gentleman whose only reproach in the eyes of the world is, that he is descended from African ancestors. But Mr. Purvis is a man so strongly attached to the doctrine of absolute equality before the law of all mankind that an acceptance of office from the hands of Andrew Johnson is about the last idea that he would seriously entertain. Of the motives of Andrew Johnson in seeking to thrust such an office into the possession of a man who belongs to what he now regards as an inferior and hostile race, nothing commendatory can be said."

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 21, 1867.

THE PARIS ANTI-SLAVERY CONFERENCE.

The following is the letter from Mr. Phillips to the Paris Anti-Slavery Conference referred to by the *Tribune's* correspondent in his account of that meeting:

LETTER FROM WENDELL PHILLIPS.

Boston, July 15, 1867.

Dear Sir: I am honored by your invitation to attend the Anti-Slavery Conference at Paris in August. I fully recognize the importance of that Consultation, and were I able, it would be both a clear duty and a great pleasure to be with you.

But in the present condition of the class lately emancipated here, I could not consent to leave the United States. They are still suffering cruel oppression. In some parts of the country they are yet practically slaves—in other sections they enjoy only a partial freedom, and in all they hold their rights by a very feeble and uncertain tenure. Their persons are safe only under the shelter of the National cannon. Emancipated in defiance of their masters, they live in a land of enemies; their safety and rights dependent wholly on the Federal authority, and that is wielded now by a President who seeks to defeat the purpose of the nation and check the results of the war. In spite, therefore, of the evident purpose of the Nation itself to rest its government henceforth on the corner-stone of Justice, the condition of the Negro is very critical. He has received the title deed of his estate, but by no means the estate itself.

The American Anti-Slavery Society, which has had special charge of this question for more than thirty years, and still represents the advanced sentiment of the Nation—always urgent—has, of late, lost no opportunity to call on its members for unceasing vigilance and to warn the country of the great peril attending this transition period.

We need the aid of every man. I feel that to leave the United States at such an hour, even to attend your Conference, would be a desertion of my post. The humblest citizen on the right side is a help. But the presence of all who have given special and life-long attention to this subject, seems indispensable. The Nation gropes its way, half reluctant and confused by prejudice, among new problems; the best evidence of its honest intention being the readiness with which it listens to those whose names are identified with the Anti-Slavery struggle.

Wishing you all success in your generous labors, and with most sincere respect, Yours,

Wendell Phillips.

M. Augustin Cochin, de l'Institut.

THE SUPREME COURT.

Of all the instruments used by the South in old times the Supreme Court was the most evil-intentioned and the most efficient. The people have been bred in such servile reverence for its decisions that whichever party got possession of that weapon was almost sure to conquer. Its Judges appointed for life and lingering on the bench to extreme old age—as Sydney Smith said of Bishops—"with Episcopal pertinacity"—have always represented the opinion of a former generation. This Department of the government has always been the last to come into line with the Nation as new eras have opened. The South never appealed to arms until it found that this usually formidable weapon had, in 1860, lost its power. The Nation swung away from treason like Taney's and the ship of State moved on "with upright keel." Stung to madness, the South appealed to the bullet—unsuccessfully.

The signs at Washington indicate that Mr. Johnson means to try to find refuge under the old shelter. He plans evidently to strengthen himself by putting the army into the hands of his friends as far as possible. But only as a reserve force. The checkmate he intends to call on Congress is to be, it would seem, some action of the Judiciary declaring all the reconstruction legislation unconstitutional. How dangerous and embarrassing a check that would be to the Nation's progress every one familiar with the history of the Anti-Slavery movement will fully appreciate. Whether Mr. Johnson will succeed in obtaining such a decision, no one knows. His counsellors evidently count upon it; we fear with too good grounds for their trust.

Every thoughtful man has anxiously watched that tribunal ever since 1861. Mr. Stevens early saw the danger in that quarter and was only deterred from a vigorous attempt to avert the danger by the fact that the appointing power resting with Mr. Lincoln, it seemed impossible to secure any sufficient change in the character of the Bench. The action of most of the Judges who owe their appointment to Mr. Lincoln is evidence enough how unwise and dangerous it would have been to put it into his power to saddle us with any more enemies, empowered to balk us as long as their lives lasted.

Mr. Johnson's main object is to confuse public opinion and divide the ranks of the Republican party. No more effectual means could be desired than a decision of the Supreme Court, adverse to Congress. Round such a decision would rally all the timid, tired, weak-kneed, halfway, compromising and dishonest elements which victory has lured into the Republican ranks. Landlocked and hampered by such opposition, the reconstruction movement would move very slowly and fitfully forward—the youngest of us, in such circumstances, may reach old age before it will be ended—in any true sense of the word.

What measures the Radical element in Congress will adopt to meet such a contingency, time will show. We entreat them to remember how much hangs on their action. The Nation will support them in going, as Franklin said, "to the extreme verge of their Constitutional power," for means to meet such an emergency. *Salus populi suprema lex.*

Wendell Phillips.

THE COMING CRISIS.

Another "crisis" is approaching, if it be not already at hand. The periods of deep feeling and real anxiety among the people as to the condition of the country, which attended the war, still continue. They indicate that the conflict is not yet definitely ended. The conditions of another outbreak exist. Whether it will occur, remains to be seen. Additional bloodshed is not probably desired by either side; but reckless adventurers there are, who are willing to risk anything if they can see a way to success in their infamous schemes. The danger is felt by the masses; the price of Gold indicates it. Congress can assemble only as called by one who does not want it in session now, and who may decide that he will not allow it to meet again in November, if his own deserved impeachment is quite certainly foreshadowed.

Upon the XXXIXth Congress, which for months wasted its allotted time and a golden period of opportunity, without touching the work of reconstruction, while denying the rightful jurisdiction of the usurping President, and then shirked also the responsibility of removing the Presidential obstruction; and again, upon the XLth Congress, which, though legislating upon reconstruction, left their work and their loyal allies to be dissipated and tortured by the treacherous Executive, rests in large measure the responsibility for the present untoward state of things and the blood which may follow. The demand for impeachment which we made long ago, and have urged without intermission for many months, we are glad to notice, is now seconded very generally by Republican journals. But, by the time Congress is expected to assemble, whether impeachment can be enforced without "coercion" is doubtful. Then, we apprehend, the Fessenden's and others of that wing of politicians will be fertile in reasons for additional delay and practical surrender to Johnson. In that way an outbreak may be postponed. Meanwhile the Autumn elections, by every possible effort and diversion on the Conservative side, are not unlikely to result in favor of the so-called "Democracy." This is the present tendency of things. The people, with ample reason, will by and by distrust the management of the now dominant party. Will its leaders be wise in time, and, in securing the fruits of victory, save to themselves the sceptre of power? Loyal Governors should at once assemble for counsel, their State Legislatures be promptly convened in extra session, with due military provision for a contingent emergency. Thus the public may be reassured, and the plot now being matured at Washington be arrested and thwarted. Precautionary action delayed now will render impeachment still uncertain, enhance the chances of a pro-slavery victory, in the name of the "Democracy" or another, in the approaching Autumn and Presidential elections, and of an ignominious defeat of reconstruction on the basis of equal political rights for the colored race.

ROBERT PURVIS.

Robert Purvis, Esq., of Byberry, Pa., has been officially tendered the position of Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau to succeed Gen. Howard. Its acceptance, irrespective of the motives which prompted the offer, has been strongly urged by some of his friends. He will of course decline. His eminent ability and fitness for such a post all who know him will recognize, but he would be the last man to jeopardise the interests of the cause in which his life has been spent, or to sacrifice his own self-respect by consenting to be an instrument in the hands of Andrew Johnson, upon any plea, to add confusion to the present complicated political situation.

Mr. Purvis, as is well known to most of our readers, is a native of South Carolina. Identified throughout the entire period with the Anti-Slavery conflict, he has for many years been practically exiled from the State of his nativity, to which he is still bound by strong ties. We understand it is not improbable that he may at no distant period resume his residence in South Carolina and more intimately identify himself with the interests of its citizens. Should he desire to do so it will be a great gain to the loyal people who are struggling to create a State which shall be worthy of the name Republican. As a friend of liberal education, of temperance, of absolute equality before the law, thoroughly imbued with the spirt of Northern enterprise and widely and favorably known both in this country and in Europe, he would be an invaluable acquisition in the present condition of affairs of South Carolina. We know of no one hitherto, or at present, identified with the fortunes of that State who could in the future, with greater fitness or ability, represent it in the national council, either the Senate or House of Representatives.

The Executive Committee of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society have in progress arrangements which indicate that the Annual Meeting of that Society, to be held in Philadelphia early in November, will be an occasion of unusual interest. A festival will be held in connection with the meeting. Several meetings at different points in the State will, we understand, be held prior to the Annual Meeting, to be addressed by Wendell Phillips and others. Particular announcement will be made at an early day.

The Montgomery (Ala.) *Sentinel* says that in that State, very generally, the arrangement between farmers and freedmen has been for the freedmen to receive a certain portion of the crop. It is estimated that the portion of corn produced in Alabama this year and falling to the freedmen as their portion, will amount to a greater number of bushels than the entire crop of Alabama any previous year.

PERSONAL.

John Stuart Mill has lately received the highest honors at the disposal of the law faculty of the University of Halle, which faculty refused a like honor to Count Bismarck.

The affection of Rarey, the celebrated horse tamer, for his "Cruiser," was so great that in his will he is left to his brother with strict injunctions that he is not to be sold or exhibited for *money*.

Rev. Robert Collyer, of Chicago, will lecture in the Second Unitarian church, corner of Clinton and Congress streets, Brooklyn, on Monday evening, Sept. 23d. Subject, "The Inside Track."

Leopold De Meyer, the great pianist, unexpectedly appeared in New York on the 11th inst., after an absence of twenty years, and created a great sensation by playing at the Steinway Rooms before it was ascertained who he was.

Patrick Cuddy, a hod carrier on the Universalist Church at Norwich, on Saturday fell from a scaffold inside the building. Mr. James Dixon on the scaffolding below caught the falling man and jumped to the floor with him, breaking his fall and preventing injury to him. All honor to brave self-possession.

Dr. Dio Lewis's school will open on the 25th instant, at the Spy Pond House, within five miles of Boston, on the Lexington Railroad. He numbers among his teachers Theodore D. Weld and Angelina G. Weld, Miss Mary Atkins associate principal, and Miss Augusta Haskell.

In a personal item last week, noticing the connection of our Philadelphia correspondent, Mr. John K. Wildman, with a new banking firm in Philadelphia, our types made us speak of his integrity as "impeachable," instead of unimpeachable. Though we strenuously advocate the the impeachment of the White House "Impediment," we are not at all disposed to consider Mr. W.'s integrity as impeachable.

Mrs. Caroline Gould Hildreth, widow of Richard Hildreth, the historian, died of cholera at Naples on the 18th of August. She had just arrived in that city from Rome, accompanied by her son, and died in hospital. A letter from the American consul, Mr. Green, announces that he caused the remains to be interred in one of the cemeteries of Naples. Mrs. Hildreth had many devoted friends in New York, and during her residence here her house was a favorite resort of literary men and artists.

Gen. Griffin, of the Department of the Gulf, whose death from yellow fever was announced on Monday last, was one of Sheridan's most effective coadjutors, and an officer whose loss will be keenly felt by the loyalists, both white and black, of that Department. The following was one of the last orders issued by him:

Special Orders No. 155.—All distinctions on account of color, race, or previous condition, by railroads or other chartered companies that are common carriers, are forbidden.

Miss Ruth Anna Pierce, of Bristol, Pa., reopened, last week, her select boarding school for young ladies, in a new and commodious building, just completed for her use, and with a very full attendance of students. She is unable even with her increased facilities to receive all who desire the advantages of her admirable school. Miss Pierce possesses a high order of talent as a teacher, and, with other members of the family, has long been one of the foremost and most devoted representatives of thorough, uncompromising abolitionism. We note, therefore, with especial satisfaction the growing appreciation of her educational labors, and esteem such as may enjoy the benefits of her instruction peculiarly fortunate.

Mr. Benjamin Emerson of Haverhill, Mass., in a letter dated Sept. 10, encloses a remittance and adds:

"I hope The Standard will continue its mission until the rights of all are secured, without regard to caste, color or sex.

"While Congress allows a rebel to remain in the executive chair nothing is safe. We need many papers like The Standard to stir up the people to denounce those who, for party purposes, are retaining him there.

"Justice requires that the plantations of rebels at the South be divided into small farms and secured to their former slaves who toiled upon them without compensation all their lives, until, from political necessity, they were emancipated. Congress should see that they are now recompensed, as far at least as these lands can repay them."

Louisa M. Alcott writes about Dickens as he appeared at his readings: "At first glance I received a shock, and my idol tumbled off the pedestal whereon I placed him long ago, when I wove his hair in a locket, and thought Shakspeare an idiot beside him. I did not expect to see the handsome, foppish young man who once paid us a visit, and caricatured us so capitally afterward; but I did think some sign of genius would be visible—some glimpse of the genial creator of *Little Nell, Tom Pinch*, and the *Cheeryble Brothers* would certainly appear. Far from it; youth and comeliness were gone, but the foppishness remained; and the red-faced man, with false teeth, and the voice of a worn-out actor, had his scanty gray hair curled; a posy in his button-hole; a diamond ring, pin, and studs; a ruffled front, and wristbands *a la* "Cousin Fenix."

Frederick Douglass, and not John M. Langston, received the first invitation from the President to take charge of the Freedmen's Bureau, in place of Gen. Howard whom the President threatens to remove. Says the *Independent:* "This unusual proposition from the White House to Mr. Douglass was made as long ago as July, though its distinguished recipient, with characteristic modesty, refrained from making it public.

"The greatest black man in the nation did not consent to become the tool of the meanest white. Mr. Douglass declined the President's offer in a very gentlemanly but very positive manner. He was neither willing to facilitate the removal of a man so good and just as Gen. Howard, nor willing to put himself under any obligation to keep the peace with Andrew Johnson. For this prudence and firmness, Mr. Douglass is entitled to the thanks of the country. Much as we should like to see so able and eminent a man in one of the conspicuous offices of the government, we should be sorry to see him secure his elevation by any of the debasing arts which white men sometimes use.

"Mr. Douglass resides at Rochester, in a Republican district, which we hope to see him representing in Congress."

Mr. George W. Smalley, writing from London as the *Tribune's* Special Correspondent, gives the following concerning Jenny Lind:

"Jenny Lind left many friends and admirers in America who will be sorry to hear that her latest appearance in public has been a failure. That the freshness of her voice should be gone was inevitable, but it seems to be agreed that its splendor and strength are also gone. 'In plain truth,' writes one correspondent, 'it is now little better than a beautiful wreck, which the frequent ardor of the still aspiring artist only makes the more apparent.' The reappearance of Madame Goldschmidt was at the Hereford Musical Festival, and the occasion of her consent was that she might assist in bringing out 'Ruth,' the new oratorio of her husband. One does not like to repeat harsh things of Jenny Lind's husband, but the oratorio gets no good word said of it anywhere, and not even the Nightingale, in the enthusiasm of her first triumph, could have made it a success."

Seth Hunt, Esq., in a letter from Northampton, Mass., dated Sept. 12, says:

"Since you were here, we have had, as speakers for our free meetings, at Northampton and Florence, Theodore D. Weld and Ralph Waldo Emerson. Mr. Weld's subject, in the morning, was, "The Reaction of Reform upon Reformers." In the afternoon, he dwelt on "National Affairs." Both of his discourses were, as usual, masterly, and convincing. He showed that four millions of our black citizens, and a half a million of loyal whites were without protection, except those immediately under the guns of the United States. They were shot down like dogs. It was the duty of the government to protect them at all hazards; else it was not worthy the name of government. The Constitution was made to defend natural rights which existed before all constitutions. The people did not make a constitution with which to destroy themselves.

Mr. Emerson's subject, at Northampton, was "Truth," at Florence, "Success." Both of them were in his best vein. He has a way of putting a whole sermon into a single sentence, and of uttering the most radical thoughts in an apparently cool and incidental manner, but with telling effect. His audiences were quite large, and he scattered gems among them with a liberal hand."

Frederick Douglass, in a private letter addressed to the Editor of the *Independent*, says:

"I have been keeping a kind of hotel all Summer! My poor brother Perry—after a bondage of fifty-six years, deeply marked by the hardships and sorrows of that hateful condition; and after a separation from me during forty years as complete as if he had lived on another planet—came to me two months ago, with his family of six, and took up his abode with me. To him—dear old fellow!—one who has carried me on his shoulders many a time (for he is older than I, though my head seems to contradict it)—one who defended me from the assaults of bigger boys when I needed defence—I have been mainly devoting myself, and gladly so.

"I have now completed for him a snug little cottage on my own grounds, where my dear old slavry-scarred and long-lost brother may spend in peace, with his family, the remainder of his days. Though no longer young, he is no sluggard. Slavery got the best of his life, but he is still strong and hopeful. I wish his old master could see him now—cheerful, helpful, and 'taking care of himself.'"

Our Boston Correspondence.

Boston, September 16th, 1867.

Last week it was decided, by the votes of the citizens of Boston and Roxbury, to unite those two cities. This arrangement, which does not include the town of West Roxbury, will go into effect on the first of January. Boston will be then the fourth city in size and population in the United States. She will gain by the change 30,000 inhabitants, 2,100 acres, and an unlimited quantity of the celebrated Roxbury pudding-stone. The valuation of the two cities exceeds $471,000,000. A large number of the men of Roxbury are already closely connected with the business of Boston, and the union of the two will make the foreign vote of Boston proportionably less. There was no active opposition to the annexation, and the vote, in both cities, was about four to one in its favor. In view of this fact, the idea of contesting the legality of the vote before the Supreme Court, which was entertained by some of the opposers, has been abandoned.

The union of Roxbury with Boston, as I have said, will diminish the proportion of voters of foreign birth, and their descendants, among us, for the present; but how soon this proportion may change, even to the extent of putting our municipal affairs completely under the control of Irish immigrants and their children; that is, how soon our city government may come to be like yours in New York, is a very serious question. The two little books recently published by Dr. Storer—"Why not? a Book for every Woman," and "Is it I? a Book for every Man"—disclose the startling facts that the increase of our native population has for years been growing less and less, so that the annual average of deaths among this class has come nearly to coincide with the annual average of births; and the tendency continues, and increases. We have been accustomed to speculate about the steady diminution and probable extinction of the race of North American Indians; but will the race of Yankees ever die out? The facts, and the statistical tables, adduced by Dr. Storer suggest the fear that such a catastophe may be not only possible, but probable. And the evil which he points out is not merely an evil—not an inevitable misfortune—not in any sense an accident—but an enormous vice and crime, deliberately practised by women and men of various classes, not excluding the most intelligent classes. The Egyptians are said to have systematically murdered the children of their slaves; our people, for reasons as selfish and as shameful, murder their own children. And, so far has the public conscience become corrupted, and the public taste depraved, in this matter, that men and women publicly advertise and offer for sale the means of perpetrating these murders, people calling themselves physicians offer asylums for the *convenient* perpetration of them, the current commercial and "religious" papers insert such advertisements without scruple, and the fact that they contain them seems to be not the slightest bar to the admission of those papers into decent, respectable and pious families.

Speaking of the Irish residents in Boston—estimated, with their children, to be 60,000 in number,—we have rarely the opportunity to see them collected in such numbers as yesterday, at the ceremonies connected with laying the corner-stone of their prospective cathedral. It seemed as if the whole of them had made the pious effort to be present, but the difficulties were insurmountable. The inclosure of the walls (covered on this occasion, with an immense tent) is calculated to hold 5,000 people; and the streets and spaces around will enable three or four times that number more to stand within sight of some side or corner of the portion of the walls already raised. These spaces were densely filled. Every door and window, every practicable roof, fence, tree, "coign of vantage" and pile of wood or stone were crowded. But, as this state of things became apparent, vast numbers who arrived found it uncomfortable to stay, and gave their places to others, who in turn came to a similar conclusion; and thus it came to pass that the dense stream of Irish people who for an hour and a half crowded a mile of Washington street, going Southward from Boylston street, met an equally dense stream of equally true believers returning; and so it was, no doubt, with the space on the other side, between the cathedral and Roxbury.

The show was made as grand and imposing as circumstances would permit. The Rt. Rev. Bishop first blessed the place on which the high altar is to stand; then he blessed the corner-stone, and assisted in adjusting it in its place; then, with the clergy in procession, he made the circuit of the walls, sprinkling the foundations with holy water, and intoning appropriate Psalms; then pecuniary offerings were laid on the corner-stone, the clergy making collections within the tent, and other designated persons outside of it; then the Most Rev. Archbishop of New York delivered a discourse; and the services were closed by a grand "Te Deum," by the large orchestra and choir combined for the occasion, who had interspersed the previous exercises with fine selections from the music of the Catholic Church.

The building, the founding of which has been thus celebrated, is designed to be the largest and finest church in New England. It is expected to cost a million and a half of dollars (a large portion of which will be squeezed out of the servant girls and laboring men of Massachusetts) and to be three or four years in building.

Its front will meet Washington street diagonally, in the broad part of it a little above Union Park street, giving a commanding position for the display of two lofty spires, one two hundred feet high (nearly the height of the Bunker Hill Monument), the other three hundred feet. The base for this taller spire is forty-eight feet square. The belfry will be provided with a chime of bells. The edifice will present a front of 150 feet; its length, from the front entrance to the rear of the chancel, will be 295 feet, and its greatest interior breadth 85 feet. There will be four chapels connected with the building. The body of the church will seat 5,000 persons, and a Sabbath school-room in the basement is expected to accommodate 3,500 scholars.

There are already in this city eleven Roman Catholic churches and two chapels, in charge of thirty-four clergymen. The present Bishop of this diocese is the Rt. Rev. John Joseph Williams, consecrated March 11th, 1866.

Yesterday, there was heard from a Boston pulpit the voice of one who for many years has chosen to present his thoughts to the public in the form of lectures rather than of sermons. At the request of Rev. Dr. Bartol, Ralph Waldo Emerson delivered in his church a discourse on the immortality of the soul; and this morning, at the regular monthly meeting of the Free Religious Club, Mr. Emerson read, by appointment, a paper on Religion, some extracts from which he has kindly promised for a future number of The Standard. This was followed by a discussion upon the Essay, and its subject, and excellent things were said by Messrs. Alcott, Bartol, Wasson, Longfellow, Connor, Tiffany, Allen, Potter, Towne, and others. Among the ladies present (all of whom chose on this occasion to be listeners rather than speakers), were two veterans in the Anti-Slavery cause, Miss Sarah Grimké, and Mrs. Angelina Grimké Weld. The sight of them carried me back to the old days, when these noble women gave the strength of their youth and the power of their eloquence to the cause of the slave. The lecture-going public of the present day can hardly imagine the bitterness of reproach called forth in those old times by the mere fact of a woman's presuming to speak in public. That the Grimké sisters were Quakers by birth and education was admitted as extenuation, but hardly as excuse; and yet, though the majority of their hearers "came to scoff," they could not help coming to hear; and I remember when the young sister, speaking of an audience that crowded the old Odeon in Federal street, held them for two hours in fixed attention, though nine-tenths of them would undoubtedly have objected (on national grounds) to any interference with slavery, and (on theological grounds) to the public speaking of women anywhere and on any subject.

Times are changed; and yet, how much of the old feeling of opposition to radical reform remains; and how much of the bitter, spiteful manifestation of it remains, here as well as at the South.

North.

MR. EMERSON'S ORATION.

A CRITICISM BY REV. BERIAH GREEN.

NO. II.

In a paper lately written for The Standard, occasioned by the Oration recently pronounced by Ralph Waldo Emerson before the Phi Beta Kappa of Cambridge College, I ventured to assert, that a philosopher in distinction from a demagogue would not regard, as a legitimate nationality, a "Federal Union," with gross, with deadly injustice deliberately wrought into its structure. I may be permitted, if not expected, to explain and justify myself, in making any such declaration. A legitimate nationality is, as such, armed with the powers and prerogatives of civil government. It is a *sovereignty*, wielding a just authority. Now, all authority, in whatever form and on whatever scale it may be maintained and exercised, springs from those Principles on which Human Nature was constructed. Wherever these are embodied and manifested, there and there only and there always is authority. A political organization, in which these are constructively and deliberatively violated, whatever it may be, cannot be a legitimate nationality. A conspiracy—a usurpation it may be; civil government it can be never. Authority never resides in numbers as numbers, however great and unanimous and imperious they may be; its home is in the bosom of Principle, wherever it may assert itself on earth or in heaven. Through these, the very Cross, on which Jesus hangs, becomes a Throne.

These principles are all comprehended in, and represented by, *Justice*. This idea, this unity, equally simple and significant, is always authoritative, sovereign, majestic. It is the basis of the Eternal Throne—it is the soul and substance of all government. It is sure to awaken, wherever it may address a rational creature, a *sense of obligation*. Deliberately to work injustice as a constructive element into a political organization is to form something far other than a government. A legitimate authority, it can by no means exercise. The whole solar system, united and combined to inflict injustice, could by no means make even a poor peasant in an obscure corner feel that he ought to subserve any such design. You may organize injustice as you please—you may marshal multitudes never so great to inflict it and to inflict it on some friendless creature whose name you cannot repeat, yet at your heart's core you cannot but regard the whole movement with irrepressible abhorrence—as essentially and intrinsically dastardly and damnable. All this demagogues affect to deny; a philosopher never. The demagogue goes he cares not whither, with what he takes to be the majority; the philosopher bows, he knows on what grounds and with what results, to the majesty of principle.

Now mark, studiously mark, the construction of what Mr. Emerson very complacently calls "the Federal Union." Among its organic elements, insisted on pertinaciously and emphatically as especially essential to its existence, you find injustice most foul and comprehensive. When the Constitution of the United States was framed, the foreign slave trade was here carried on as a legitimate form of commerce. Injustice more foul and revolting cannot easily be imagined. *And this the Constitution authorized and protected, specifically for twenty weary years!* At the close of this dreadful term, it seems to have been presumed by the fathers of the Republic that the domestic slave trade might meet the demands of the market! To attempt to justify a crime already committed is sufficiently base and profligate but to make legal provision for the commission of the foulest injustice in the future—this is most atrocious and revolting. And to incorporate this provision in the organic laws of a new nationality at the close of a long war, professedly carried on in behalf of the essential rights of mankind—what tongue can describe the depths of wickedness which all this implies and betrays! The young nation is, moreover, constitutionally bound to force back into its flames the fugitive who may have escaped from the hell of slavery! And slavery as slavery is admitted to a place among the legislative agencies with which the young Republic was constitutionally armed! What sort of a philosopher must he be who ventures to pronounce a political organization, so fashioned, a legitimate nationality! A "Federal Union" worthy, at whatever expense of blood and treasure, to be defended and protected! In consistency he ought to commend to general confidence the personified principle of evil as the legitimate "Prince of this world!" If such a thing can be a legitimate nationality, it must be libelous to describe the devil as a usurper!

"The Federal Union," as such, has always occupied a false position—*essentially, organically* occupied a false position. There, only madness, stupidity or idiocy could hope, whatever forces might be brought into requisition, to see it protected. In open and harsh conflict with the absolute Wisdom and Power, its dissolution could not long be delayed. What are numbers, however cunningly arrayed, in fierce fight with sovereign justice! The sole alternative before "the Federal Union" has all along been—must, who knows how long, be repentance or ruin. A "fair inheritance" indeed, which stubbornly refuses to "do justice" to the millions whom it has most wantonly and foully and meanly wronged! The *suffrage* to those *whose wages* generation after generation, it has withheld! Reduce them to the most abject and helpless pauperism, "devouring" or alienating their natural inheritance; and then—"for a pretence," sending them to the ballot-box along a pathway, slippery with the blood of their fellows, murdered for "their loyalty" by assassins who "lie in wait" for their lives! Surely, "the freedom of such a country" must be, in the words of a distinguished philosopher, "boundless!" Our choice we must make: *A true position or death!*

Beriah Green.

THE PARIS ANTI-SLAVERY CONFERENCE.

[We take from the N. Y. *Tribune* the following notice of the Anti-Slavery Conference in Paris—the fullest account of its sessions we have seen. Elsewhere we give in full the letter from Mr. Phillips mentioned by the *Tribune's* correspondent.]

Paris, August 29th, 1867.

Awaiting the complete official report of the proceedings of the Paris Anti-Slavery Conference, which will not be published until many days, being quite a voluminous work, a brief though necessarily imperfect account of its sayings and doings may interest the readers of the *Tribune*. It met in the Salle Herz on Monday and Tuesday afternoons of this week. It was convoked by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, the Spanish Abolition Society, and the French Society *(Comité)* of Emancipation. It was composed of delegates from anti-slavery and kindred societies and bodies of different countries; of persons not delegates, but interested in the anti-slavery cause who desired to be written down as members of the Conference; and of visitors who were not entitled to vote. The greatest number of persons present either day may have been 600, which dwindled to less than half that before the close of either session. A large majority was French; next in force were the English. There were a few Spaniards, Haytiens, men from the Antilles, individuals of other nationalities; some thirty persons, black and colored, and twice as many women. After the meeting was called to order, the Duke of Broglie, absent by reason of old age, was chosen honorary President; Ed. Laboulaye, acting President; Prince Albert de Broglie, Vice-President for France; Sebastiano de Olozaga, for Spain; Charles Buxton and Joseph Cooper, for England; John G. Palfrey and W. Lloyd Garrison (the announcement of whose name was followed with loud applause), for the United States; General Dubois (colored), for Hayti, and others, whose names are less known, for other countries. The first French Secretary was Augustin Cochin.

Observe now, among others, two qualities possessed in common by all the French gentlemen in this list of officers: politically they are all of the opposition, socially they are all of the utterest respectability and prudence. Excepting such emissaries of the government (disguised in citizens' dress out of regard to the prejudices of English and American guests) as attended, I doubt if there were three Imperialists in the house. But the patent respectability of the audience, if not relieved by the presence of the negroes and women, would have provoked the suspicion of one brought up in our Abolitionist meetings of twenty years ago, that the managing committee was playing at Anti-Slavery meeting.

M. Cochin, after reporting the correspondence received from absent friends of the cause, and reading select French portions of it from Guizot and Montalembert, and the Duke de Broglie, spoke well and at some length on the origin and progress of Emancipation. As he mentioned with due word of praise to each one after another the names of the eminently respectable Frenchmen and foreigners distinguished by their services in the cause, General Cluseret, whom some of us recollect in the Shenandoah Valley and elsewhere during the rebellion, interrupted the speaker with: "And Victor Schoelcher?" You need not be reminded that Schoelcher was, from 1829 to 1848, one of the most indefatigable and efficient advocates of abolition. His numerous written arguments upon the "sum of all villanies" and of all bungles, published during those twenty years, were sustained by severe closet study and by study from personal observation in Mexico, Cuba, the United States, nearly all the West India islands, Egypt, and the west coast of Africa. It was under his presidency, and owing to him more than to any other one man, that the commission drew up the decrees of April 27, 1848, that abolished immediately slavery in French colonies. M. Cochin assured Mr. Cluseret that no one would be forgotten and presently did introduce the name of Schoelcher with high complimentary words, adding that "unlike some, when arrived at power he kept his promises;" a phrase in which a portion of the natives present found or made an allusion that they underscored with loud hand-clapping. But Victor Schoelcher is a Red Republican; he is not a Catholic, nor yet a church Protestant. His name was not mentioned again that day nor the next. Victor Hugo's was barely mentioned, and but once. That of Bishop Gregoire, or any other of the French revolutionary Abolitionists, not at all. No French speaker deemed that an Anti-Slavery Conference held in Paris offered fit occasion to do much honor to the Emancipation acts of the old republic, or of the republic of 1848, or to the Anti-Slavery efforts of individual French Republicans. The Duke de Broglie, the Bishop of Orleans, Monseigneur Dupanloup had large—not unmerited, certainly, but rather disproportionate—place in the speeches of the two days. John Brown did get "honorable mention" the second day, being forced, as it were, on the attention of the assembly. I shall have to say a word about him by-and-by.

Of the preamble and resolutions prepared by the Committee and passed by sufficient vote, all were entirely proper in language. They express a distinc

disapproval of slavery and the slave trade, and the need to still labor for their final abolition in all lands, and propose to appeal to the Pope, the Queen of Spain, and other influential parties, to aid in their final abolition. This paper appears to have been drawn up with an earnest desire on the part of its authors not to displease anybody—at least, not any well-disposed persons in good society. Another set of resolutions were proposed to the Conference by Elisee Reclus and certain others, that abound in unpleasantness e. g.: "In the United States an event of immense importance is accomplished, and 4,000,000 of men have just entered into the human family. But there, too, shameful slavery still exists in the laws and customs. Let the Radicals of the North, while imposing black suffrage on the Southern States, be just enough to accord it to the blacks of their own States; let them earn for the whites the pardon of their long crimes toward the blacks by recognizing in them at last their own equals. * * * The Abolition Congress of Paris calls the attention of all Americans jealous of the dignity of their country to this national disgrace. The Conference, aware of the value of the example of liberty for men still in servitude, sends its congratulations to the Republic of Hayti, which, inspired by the French Revolution, was strong to conquer, and has been since to maintain its independence. It likewise sends assurance of sympathy to the Mexican Republic that has refused to accept the re-establishment of peonage attempted to be imposed by strangers, and finally, in all countries where slavery still exists, it offers as an example to brave men the heroic devotion of the mulattoes [here follows a list of Haytien and other insurgents], of Nat. Turner, of John Brown, and of their noble companion in arms."

Galignani's euphuistic reporter says: "An attempt was made by some ardent friends, whose modes of expression might have been deemed by some to be extreme, to introduce propositions to suit their own views; but, on the representations of the Chairman, they did not press their sentiments to discussion." Mr. Reclus did all that man could in the way of pressing, but the Chairman as courteously and as positively as possible forbade discussion—not only refused to hear Reclus discuss the resolutions, but to let him speak at all, and refused to have the resolutions read, though I understood him to say that they would be printed in the official report. Whereby M. Laboulaye is not to be blamed in the least. A free Anti-Slavery Conference cannot be held in Paris. The managers of this Conference had to ask permission of the Minister of the Interior to meet, and obtained it only on conditions which, both expressed and implied, they were bound in honor to observe. They therefore strictly regulated the proceedings in advance—what papers were to be read, what left unread, what speeches to be spoken, who to speak—especially for the French part. Whether it was worth while to play at abolition meeting on such conditions may be a question, but there is no question whatever that, if speakers like Reclus had been suffered to go on, they would have made work of it. They are not of playful temperament. Many of them are members of the society "*Agis comme tu Penses*"—act as you think. They are to-day here, what the Garrisonites, and Phillippians, and Parkerites were twenty years ago in Boston. They are Rads, and Reds, fanatics—thorns and chestnut burrs to the prudent and respectable. These are they who are pushing the subscription for a gold medal commemorative of John Brown, to be presented to his widow—a subscription which was started by a woman, Mme. Gael, which is headed by Victor Hugo and all his family, and, although started only a month or so ago, counts more than 4,000 subscribers. It is a two-sous subscription, after the manner of the Lincoln medal subscription. They mean to augment the list to 50,000. They want to make the subscription international, and hope that some one will undertake it for America. It is no fault of M. Laboulaye and the Managing Committee that such folks were not suffered to freely speak their thoughts in the Salle Herz last Monday; they are not suffered to publicly speak their thoughts anywhere in France. If they had taken possession of the meeting as they would if they had once got under headway—for they are of an aggressive, grasping kind—the meeting would not have been there long. Their "modes of expression would have been deemed by some to be extreme"—no doubt of it: they would have inevitably undertaken to "suit their own views," and not the views of the authorities, who would have soon pressed them to reserve further discussion of their sentiments for the magistrates of the *Police Correctionelle*.

Far be it then from your reporter to presume to censure Ed. Laboulaye, to whom all Americans owe gratitude and respect, or M. Cochin, and the other excellent managers of the Anti-Slavery Conference.

Mr. Waller, who was with Dr. Livingstone in the Zambesi country, gave some account of the horrible waste of life that accompanies the slave-hunting there for the supply of the Zanzibar market, whence the comparatively few but positively large numbers of survivors are taken by Arab dealers, to be sold to Egypt and the countries along the Persian Gulf. An officer of the French Marine, who has penetrated far into the interior from the Senegal coast, then gave some sketches of his experience. He was followed by the Rev. Mr. Knox of the Church of England African Mission, who would attempt to utter his correct ideas of existing treaties relating to the slave-trade, and the need of their being altered or revoked, in the Anglo-French dialect. Our countryman, Mr. J. G. Palfrey, committed a similar linguistic mistake and errors the second day. The delivery of both speakers was apparently attended with a good deal of pain, which was sympathized with by the thinned audience. A delegate from Cuba spoke well but briefly of the state of the Spanish Abolition movement, directing attention to this peculiar feature, that instead of proceeding from the Home Government outward, it was pressed from the Colonies themselves on the Home Government. Unfortunately M. Olozaga, who was to have treated more fully of this subject, one of the most interesting before the meeting, kept silent, on the ground, as near as I could understand the delicately allusive explanation given of his reticence, that in the actual situation of the Spanish government, anything like censure from one of its subjects would be unbecoming. The last speaker of the day was Bishop Payne, who represented the African Methodist Church of the United States. He read a long paper giving a review of the growth of that church from the outset, fifty-two years ago, and particularly from the overset of two years ago. The stubborn facts of the Freedmen coming into the fold by thousands, and contributing their money lavishly to build churches and schools, and pay teachers and preachers, told by a black man, were the best arguments presented that day for the capacity of the African race to run alone.

At the opening of the meeting on Tuesday, the President acknowledged receipt of several papers sent into the Committee. One was a notice of the John Brown medal subscription, sent in by the fanatics, with request that the Conference would subscribe. The request was read, and in that way J. B. got smuggled into the "proceedings." The official report, let us hope, will repeat the short but generous sentence of laudation passed on the ex-criminal of Harper's Ferry by Mr. Laboulaye—who, however, stated that it did not lie within the province of the Conference to subscribe. Quite right again. Another was the translation of the John Brown song—not read. Another was a letter from the widow of Toussaint L'Ouverture, accompanying the portrait of that great man. Next followed the reading by the English Secretary, of letters from John Bigelow and Wendell Philips. The name of Phillips was greeted with earnest applause. His letter gives, as reasons for declining the invitation to attend the meeting, that every American who had its announced purposes at heart was bound to stay at home, where great and sorely-pressing work was yet to be done—work which the President of the country (treated throughout the missive quite disrespectfully) was doing his worst to render difficult.

Mr. Laboulaye then addressed the assembly for half an hour, comprehensively reviewing the history and philosophy of the Abolition movement, from its rising out of the night of Slavery to the present time. Regarded merely on the rhetorical side, the discourse was a veritable masterpiece. As the names of great and good men followed in order, Penn, and Benazet, and Jay, and Franklin, and Clarkson, and Wilberforce, and Channing, and Garrison (who sat next the orator, and covered his face with his hand, as if to shelter himself from the storm of applause that burst out at the mention of his name), and Phillips, and Lincoln, and a dozen others, they were all accompanied with words of eulogy, but so distinctively apt to the character of each individual, and the special qualities of his service in the common work, that nothing but the justice of the tributes, and the generous warmth with which, and a something else of sympathetic and captivating in the matter and manner of the orator, prevented us from stopping to admire his ingenuity. Among these brief eulogies, one that struck me most was on Theodore Parker—"certainly the most eloquent pulpit orator of our time." Nor were the noble women forgotten—Mrs. Stowe, Lucretia Mott, and others.

Then rose W. Lloyd Garrison and spoke, so soon as the applausive noise would let him, long and well. I have heard a rumor about this old veteran having retired from the anti-slavery movement or gone back or stopped. You can say if there was ever any foundation for it, and may be sure that he was going on last Tuesday afternoon, and carried all his hearers with him. He spoke in good, plain English, deliberatively and distinctly, so that many of the French could easily follow him, and frequently testified their appreciation of his freely-spoken free sentiments—which they may have relished the more that, if translated into French, "it would not have been in the province" of the Conference to listen to them. "His modes of expression might have been deemed by some extreme" if spoken in French in Napoleonville. It seemed to me sometimes when Mr. President Laboulaye clapped his hands that a part of his pleasure came from the reflection that he was not obliged to call the speaker to order. Laboulaye, as every one knows, has a pleasant vein of irony. Every one except an honest, earnest, plain-spoken English delegate present, proposed to adjourn the meeting to 7 o'clock that evening at the same place. After a little loose dissuasive talk on the utterly inacceptable proposition, the chairman suggested to Mr. Albright that he should procure an assembly room and invite a meeting there that evening. Which was suggested that Mr Albright should, in the course of two hours, visit the Minister of the Interior, make arrangements with the Prefect of Police, and go through enough other formalities to occupy a busy man for a week.

After giving a historical sketch of Abolitionism in America preceding the war, Mr. Garrison made an effective statement of proofs furnished by the freedmen of their capacity to take care of themselves, and explained the object and working of the American Freedmen's Friends' Society (I may recite the title wrongly), of which he was delegated representative in the Conference. It was only when speaking of this society and its officers that he mentioned any names. His excellent discourse was curiously impersonal. The tribute of praise and honor rendered by him to the early American Abolitionists was to all of them. He was singularly sparing of the first-personal pronoun, even in the plural. Where, he said in one eloquent passage of his address, all did so well and endured so courageously, if there were any whose zealous work and willing suffering deserved especial distinction they were the women. One personality indeed he did indulge in: Andrew Johnson was scourged by name as false to his promises, to his trust and to humanity. Let me quote again, with better will this time, Galignani's reporter: "The audience listened for an hour with gratified patience to the address of this world-famed champion of liberty, which he closed with a grateful acknowledgment of the services of the French coadjutors." This grateful acknowledgment was particularly addressed to the members of the Provisional Government of the Republic of 1848 for their fidelity to its motto, "*Liberty, Equality, Fraternity.*" I doubt if that motto has been quoted in so loud a voice and with such comment as Garrison added in any meeting of more than twenty persons in France since 1852.

When Garrison had ended, an ex-Georgian slave, who took opportunity of Sherman's march to come away from his native State, broke through the rules, no one objecting, and told something of his capacity as a free laborer to take care of himself. The substance of his remarks was then translated into an improved edition by M. Laboulaye, for the benefit of the French portion of the audience. The Prince de Broglie then spoke at some length of his father, the Duke, with becoming filial affection, of all eminent persons who had had pleasant relations to the anti-slavery cause with much regret, of slavery with decorous indignation, and of liberty in general, as being proper and desirable. Mr. Palfrey then spoke a piece in the Americo-French known tongue. Of the other addresses and remarks by Dr. Massey and other Englishmen, by Gen. Dubois of Hayti, Sella Martin, late of the late American peculiar institution, there is only room to catalogue them, and commend the reading of them when the full report is published. Some of the most important topics set down in the programme were not touched on at all, or barely grazed by speakers—such as the Chinese and Coolie traffic and the French *engage* system, the condition of freedmen in the English, French, and Dutch colonies. Of course, it was impossible to do everything in two sessions of four hours each. No harm, probably, will come of the Conference; let us hope some good. I have not pretended to make a full report of its sayings and doings, but have tried to make it truthful as far as it goes.

FOR THE STANDARD.

OUR VICE.

What shouts went up, what tears came trickling down!
"Yes, I will lead you; I will be your Moses"—
He could not then; but now, his speech to crown,
Just when he can, he leads them—by the noses.

What, then, is Canaan? To be nice and clean,
Not rowdy in the streets, and no man's debtor;
This was the land by Bogus Moses seen!
Old Father Abraham had promised better.

Vice's sole virtue has now left him quite:
He saw more Liberty when free and frisky—
Doubled he saw her—black as well as white:
Oh, give his glasses back, give back his whiskey.

The Pharaohs raged and filled a land with blood;
Hearts ran to death to glut a treason's swallow;
Scarcely has Moses passed the dreadful flood,
He turns and smiles, and bids the villains follow.

The Red Sea's tide that thundered on our shore,
And thresholds deluged, wakes again its murmur:
Hear next, *Thou Shalt Nots*, that Mt. Sinai tore—
The trumpet-voices of the great Confirmer.

The Lord said: "When thou numberest thy men,
Give every person for his soul a ransom."
Yes, Moses! Bodies now, as well as then,
Are naught, but souls made free are something handsome.

THE SUFFRAGE CAUSE IN KANSAS.

The Kansas journals contain extended accounts of meetings and Conventions to promote the cause of Impartial Suffrage. Mrs. Stanton and Miss Anthony of this city, are making deep and favorable impression wherever they go, and crowds gather to hear them. At one of the sessions of the Lawrence Convention last week, Miss Anthony addressed the audience an hour and a half. The Lawrence *Tribune* gives this account:

"Miss Susan B. Anthony then addressed the audience for an hour and a half, in an able and instructive manner, fully committing herself to both propositions for granting suffrage, without regard to color or sex. Her style and address are earnest, thoughtful and impressive, radical but not fanatical. She founds her argument upon the principles upon which all just, especially all popular governments representing the idea of Democracy and Republicanism are founded, the consent of the governed. She claims that no State can possess a Republican form of government when one-half its citizens are disfranchised, taxed to support the government, but have no voice in making the laws."

At the last session of the Convention the principal speaker was Mrs. Stanton. From an account of the proceedings in the Lawrence *Journal* we copy the following:

"In the evening the hall was crowded to overflowing by the moral, intelligent elite of the city, of both sexes. Mrs. E. Cady Stanton delivered a powerful address in favor of Equal Rights. As a specimen of classic eloquence, fine oratory and elegant diction, we have no hesitation in saying that it was the finest speech ever delivered in this city by man or woman. In saying this we are aware that Mr. Secretary Seward has spoken here in his palmiest and best days; and that Gen. Lane, one of the best popular speakers who ever addressed an audience west of the Mississippi, has been here frequently; and that Theodore Tilton, the brilliant editor of the *Independent*, has been here also; and yet, not less in word-painting than in richly developed thought, Mrs. Stanton last evening surpassed them all. And if she continue to address the people as eloquently and ably as she did last night, she cannot fail to produce a decided effect on the public sentiment of the State."

Miss Anthony's last letter is dated Ellsworth, Sept. 13th; in it she says:

"This is the last trading post on the frontier. A car load of wounded soldiers passed here yesterday, the fight with the Indians being but a few miles west of us.

"Our Tracts do more than half the work; reading matter is so scarce here, that almost anything is caught at eagerly. If Reformers would only supply the demand, with the right material, the progressive, the good and true, if they would come in and occupy these fresh fields *in the beginning*, they could mould them into models of genuine Republicanism, free from all odious distinctions of class or caste, of race, sex, or complexion. I hope, therefore, our Tract department will not fail of a most liberal support."

BALANCING THE BOOKS ON THE SUFFRAGE QUESTION.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." As a people we may congratulate ourselves that we have succeeded in learning and understanding fully the meaning of the first portion of this extract from our Declaration of Independence. We may be said to have advanced as far as the word "happiness," having succeeded (after the expenditure of tuns of blood and half a million of lives) in establishing the correct import of the words "inalienable rights" previously mentioned therein. Our fathers, who gave us the law, did not by their acts exhibit that they appreciated the full extent of its meaning, but left it to be developed and fully carried out by future generations.

We are now at work at the second portion of this extract, many of us still believing that the consent of the governed is not a necessary qualification of the just powers of a government; and many who will not admit that governments and legislative assemblies are not in power to circumscribe the rights of their creators—the people. But, all must admit, that, by using such power, they would only succeed in establishing an unjust political despotism, based upon force, in place of a just Republican or Democratic government, freely erected upon the consent of the governed. That all oligarchies rise from this point of departure, the differences between them being only questions of degree. That the Right of Suffrage, properly so-called, is one which can neither be surrendered by individuals, nor accepted by our government, seeing that continued consent is the foundation stone laid in the Declaration of Independence, upon which only "its just powers" can be based.

But the advocates of "Impartial" or, more correctly speaking, "Partial Suffrage," inform us that this view is not sanctioned by the Constitution. It may be answered that, since the virtual abrogation of the laws pertaining to slavery, it is not forbidden in that instrument, which guarantees to every State in the Union a Republican form of government. We are, amongst the people of the world, a city set upon a hill. Shall we teach by our acts the doctrine that a republican form of government is one in which the political rights of the people are circumscribed? Is it fitting for us to rebuke the Emperor of France, and the King of Prussia for proffering too much political liberty to their subjects? Surely not. Rather should we rejoice to perceive that the good seed, planted in our Revolutionary War, was bearing fruit in other lands than ours; that the world moves forward politically as well as physically; and we should recognize our duty as children to maintain the proud position of our fathers, and stand, in our generation also, first in the van of the progress of mankind.

These reflections are penned after reading the late letter of Senator Trumbull upon the subject, who maintains that there are only two ways of securing even Impartial Suffrage. "1st. By its adoption by the States separately," which, it is submitted, would not protect even it from subsequent alteration and innovation; and "2d. By an Amendment to the Constitution of the United States." The latter of these seems to be the only certain method of securing the political rights of Southern and all other citizens from State interference and usurpation. Senator Trumbull also informs us that the only claim on the subject of the qualification of voters, is to be found in Art. 1, Sec. 2, of the Constitution, viz.:

"The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the Electors in each State shall have the Qualifications requisite for Electors of the most numerous Branch of the State Legislature."

This law leaves the question open to the States, and, as it stands, would sanction Universal Suffrage, though it does not command it. It has been said that the true Republican doctrine is contained in the first part of this law, viz.: "That members should be chosen by the people of the several States," and that the fathers applied the latter part as a punishment on such States as disfranchised their citizens. Whether this be so or not, it is submitted that it would be well to omit all after the word States, and insert in lieu thereof, "of mature age, sound mind, and unconvicted of crime."

But replies the reader, would not this admit women? Why not? The whole question of the Suffrage has ever been till now, a mere question of force. To recognize the right of women to a fair share in the government is only adjusting it on the basis of reason. Vallandigham admits the right of the negro to vote in Africa, and he would have voted here previous to this, had his people been more numerous than ours. The bald truth is, we deprived him of his right to the ballot because we had the most fists; and because our fists are larger than theirs, we have visited the same political punishment upon our women. But the storm of the late war has cleared our atmosphere, and we begin to discern things as they are. It is pleasant to think that by thus defining and simplifying the above mentioned law, it can be made to harmonize with that other portion of the Constitution which "guarantees to the States a Republican form of government;" and to coincide with that assertion in the Declaration of Independence which holds that "the just powers of governments are derived from the consent of the governed."

R. W. Hume.

LITERARY.

Diamond Edition of Whittier. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. Price, $1.25.

The success the above enterprising publishers have met with in similar editions of the poets has been the means of placing the many lovers of Whittier's verse under lasting obligations to them. In a companion volume to Tennyson and Longfellow, we have his poetical works complete, embracing in the portable yet goodly collection, not only all the earlier efforts of his muse, many of which have long passed into the heart as general favorites, but the charming and truly American idyl *Snow Bound* and the scarcely less welcome *Tent on the Beach*. Like the preceding volumes, in the way of neatness and accuracy it is all to be desired, yet withal so dainty that one can scarcely imagine it as comprising the complete works of the charming writer.

To those who have long been admirers of the muse of Whittier, not only on account of beauty of verse, but sympathy with the oppressed race long the subject of much of his earlier song—for never had the slave more eloquent champion—this tasteful edition, combining all the elements of popularity, affords peculiar pleasure. The soul, aroused in those earlier years by the recital of wrong to burning utterance, as the occasion for utter devotedness has passed away has found time to linger 'mid paths more wooing to the gentler nature of the poet, and as Autumn witnesses the ripening of harvest, so the mellowing of years to our loved, honored bard, have brought the true flowering of song. A life apart from the world; an eye tuned ever to catch the holier meanings of nature with a perception as keen as that of Thoreau's to appreciate it; the careful preservation of an unspotted nature have all had their reward. The world that at first turned coldly away from utterances deemed fanatical, failing to see beauty and power underlying that generous heart-throbbing for humanity, has since bowed admiringly before his genius and with one accord awarded him a rank second to no American poet.

For all lovers of the true and beautiful it will be a household volume, and its exceeding cheapness must introduce it into many a circle where only a partial knowledge of his genius has hitherto prevailed.

The Negro in the American Rebellion. By Wm. Wells Brown. 12mo., cloth, 380 pp. Boston: Lee & Shepard.

The writer of the above excellent compilation is already known to the public as the author of several valuable works, and the present carefully-prepared volume cannot but add to his literary reputation. One of the *despised race* himself, Mr. Brown brings zeal and intense sympathy to the work, while his well-disciplined mind enables him to present the claims of his race upon our country's gratitude in the most convincing manner. His style is plain and perspicuous, rising at times even to elegance, and the work on the whole will be a valuable addition to our country's literature. As we have remarked, he feels his subject deeply, and his volume, in its earnest, clear presentation of facts, affords much of food for the study of the thoughtful, and is particularly valuable at the present time, when the claims of the race, for their long-denied recognition of the rights of freemen, are pressing in a manner that must receive attention.

The ground is covered by him, from the landing of the first cargo of slaves on the banks of the James River in 1620, until the close of the recent rebellion, and all the most notable events bearing upon history are chronicled by his pen. To the race and every friend of it the volume is valuable, not only as a compendium, but as showing what a black man, a slave almost half a life-time and to whom the oft-misused epithet *self-made* may truly apply, by energy and a determination to surmount all obstacles, may accomplish. As a token of the writer's gratitude for his devotion to the cause of freedom, the volume is dedicated to Wendell Phillips, Esq. It is issued in beautiful style from the press of Lee & Shepard, and we trust will command a wide circulation.

Tree Of Life. By Isaac Jennings, M.D. 12mo., cloth, 278 pp. New York: Miller, Wood & Co.

The above truly valuable work is a keen probing of Human Degeneracy—spiritual and physical—giving at length the writer's theory of its nature and the proper remedy.

Early convinced that religion as held and practiced by the Churches was a delusion, the writer himself, a prominent churchman, set himself diligently at work to study out the phenomena of religious rise and declension. Devoting years of study to this complex problem, he finally arrived at the conclusion that it was mainly attributable to individuality of property interest, and that the true secret of success for churches and for society was to have a community of property, thus doing away with all inequality of worldly possessions. Practically testing his religious convictions by personal reform, Mr. Jennings reduced his expenditures to what was really necessary for health and comfort, and sought to impress his views upon his church but with little success, and the Spring of 1837 found him at the then infant colony of Oberlin whither he was attracted by the glowing descriptions of that colony of earnest Christians. Finding—that much as there was was to admire in their elevated tone of piety, their substantial acts of kindness to each other as well as the air of thrift and general prosperty—that they had failed to grasp the entirety of truth, Mr. Jennings, in connection with another gentleman, Rev. Mr. Shipherd, conceived the idea of forming a settlement on true Communistic principles, which was accordingly commenced, but from certain causes, in no way affecting Mr. Jennings's faith in its perfect practicability, was not of long continuance.

We have said thus much of the writer and his views, not because they bear particularly upon his volume, which is purely with reference to spiritual and animal life, but to awaken an interest in what, notwithstanding certain peculiarities, must be regarded as a valuable addition to our Philosophy of Human Life.

The volume is a beautiful specimen of the present art of book-making, and reflects credit on the well-known house from which it is issued.

Robert Buchanan has a new volume of poems nearly ready, the majority of which are Scottish, and a volume of prose in press, beginning with a memoir of David Gray and ending with several essays on the art of poetry. The fine poem, "Langley Lane," in a recent Standard, should have been attributed to Robert Buchanan, and not Robert Browning.

MUSIC.

In no one of the arts has American progress been more rapid or more encouraging than in that of music. And while much that is valuable in our achievement is due to the intimate relation which each year renders more close between our own aspiring schools and the Old World centres of Art, the honors which are justly due to American talent and American enterprise should be liberally bestowed. We are among those who have the utmost faith in the capacity of our people to excute, and we believe that there is no field of endeavor, whether of the refined or the mechanic arts, the schools of science or the ordinary professions of daily life, in which our attainments do not compare favorably with those of European renown. The day for sneers at American art has happily passed away. The record of the past few years—in musical matters especially—has silenced silly snobs who were carping at the claims of their countrymen, and proven to the partial critics of the foreign press that our people possess the brain to conceive and the skill to execute, works that no one of the hallowed names in musical history might be ashamed to own.

Among the refining influences of our metropolis, the Concert-room, as is natural, holds no second place. The love of music is the one passion most common to the human mind. And through that passion, properly administered to, the utmost good can be accomplished. He who acts as dispensator to the musical demands of a people, holds a position at once responsible and honorable. Responsible, because the people look to him for the best works of the best masters; and honorable because of the trust so reposed.

It is our purpose in the present article to speak—though of necessity briefly—of Stienway and Irving, Halls, our two metropolitan musical centres, and of their controlling spirit, Mr. L. F. Harrison. For many years Mr. Harrison had been connected with musical enterprises, and many of the most important events in the musical world of New York—some of them still memorable for the completeness of detail which marked their performance—were shaped by his hand and directed by his vigorous energy and excellent taste. In 1860 Mr. Harrison, believing that a city occupying the leading position in the New World, and numbering among its citizens so many whose culture and enterprise had given it an enviable place among the great emporiums, was deserving of a more fitting *salon* than it then contained, determined to give to the city of New York a concert hall worthy of its advanced position. Selecting the corner of Fifteenth street and Irving Place as being the most central, and therefore the most valuable, for the purpose, he erected the structure which has become as famous in Europe as in America—Irving Hall. His progress at first was slow. The civil war absorbing all the thoughts and all the interests of a people whose very existence seemed imperilled, distracted the attention of the people from all things of lesser import, and Mr. Harrison, feeling that at such a time all private ends should be made subservient to the Nation's good, was with difficulty dissuaded from abandoning his enterprise and joining the ranks of the national army. That he kept at his post, and by his untiring perseverance brought success out of what seemed inevitable failure, is a result upon which the people of New York are to be congratulated. Under his guiding hand the progress of our city within the past five years has been such as to place it second to no other in point of excellence in musical entertainment. And it is gratifying to know that while he has accomplished so much for art, his success pecuniarily has been of the most satisfactory nature. Save by the talent which he has encouraged and invoked this success has been all unaided. No governmental assistance, such as managers of grand undertakings in European capitals receive; no "patronage" of titled names or colossal wealth, only his own invincible faith of his power to command success, and the warm interest which such courage always awakens, were his aids. Looking over the records of Irving Hall, one is astonished to see that almost all the names now become favorites with our concert loving public were introduced by him. Castle, Campbell, S. B. Mills, Mrs. Kempton, Teresa Careno, Harry Sanderson—and earlier than these—Arthur Napoleon and Satter are among the most widely known, and many others of equal talent make up the list. When the Messrs. Steinway erected the beautiful hall which bears their name its control was tendered to Mr. Harrison at once. The public are familiar with the result. His series of concerts were given at prices which afforded to those whose means were not adequate to the usual extravagant demand of our concert rooms hitherto, the luxury of the grandest musical entertainments which New York has ever known. And his audiences were composed of the highest culture and the best representatives of our society. We wish that we had time and space to dwell upon the record of the Steinway Hall entertainments. The superb voice of Parepa, and the massive and grand playing of Mr. Theodore Thomas's orchestra have been, to our mind, the features of greatest interest. Mr. Thomas, aided and encouraged by Mr. Harrison, has organized and strengthened, as our readers are already aware, the first orchestra—truly worthy of that name, which New York can claim. In the oratorios which Mr. Harrison's management has made, for the first time in the history of these grand efforts in America, at once popular and profitable, Mr. Thomas's orchestra has more than divided the honors. And, with the magnificent rendering of the leading *roles* by Mme. Parepa, has produced a sublimity in effect new to the annals of oratorio performance. It is Mr. Harrison's purpose to give during the ensuing season a continuance of the series of Concerts begun so successfully last season, and to produce also six grand oratorios with the complete distribution at his command. In all of these Mme. Parepa will sing, and Theodore Thomas's orchestra play, and the first of the series, Handel's "Creation," will be given on Nov. 21st, at Steinway Hall. In addition, Mr. Harrison will introduce Bristow's, "Daniel" to the New York public, and will repeat the "Praise to God" by the same author, which it will be remembered was so highly considered last season.

By far the most important of Mr. Harrison's late engagements is that of Leopold De Meyer, called by some the "Lion Pianist," and world-known as one of the masters of music. Mr. De Meyer has visited this country before, we think in the year 1847, and remembering with pleasure the visit then made, determined somewhat hastily, to renew the associations of former years. Mr. De Meyer's return to America was almost entirely unknown, but Mr. Harrison learning of his arrival, determined if possible to induce him to give our people one more opportunity to witness his splendid power. And we are fortunately able to announce that, yielding to Mr. Harrison's persuasions, the "Lion Pianist" will play at Steinway Hall for a limited number of nights, beginning Oct. 1st. The public are thus again indebted to Mr Harrison's enterprise for a pleasure which is as unexpected as welcome. Mr. De Meyer will be assisted by Mme. Parepa, Herr Rosa, and Theodore Thomas's orchestra. We expect to see a revival of the old *furore* occasioned by the appearance of this ancient artist in our concert rooms years ago. All accounts agree as to the maturity of his powers. He is said to play with greater fire and force than in his youth. We believe that the De Meyer concerts will become memorable in the annals of the American Concert room.

Mr. Harrison's announcement for the season of 1867-8 will thus be seen to be commensurate with the promise of his earlier career as an *impressario* and justify his many friends—that is to say—the public, in the expectation of the most refined and ennobling pleasure no less than an important addition to the records of American art. In his persistent labors, which involve not only the risk of capital, but the more serious expenditure of brain power and constant watchfulness, Mr. Harrison has the cordial good wishes and will receive the substantial support of a public who recognize his talent and appreciate his services.

Special Notices.

Wendell Phillips's

Speeches and Lectures, a handsomely-bound volume, 562 pages, with steel portrait, will be sent, post-paid, to any person renewing a subscription for the National Anti-Slavery Standard and sending the name of one new subscriber ($6), or for two new subscribers $3 a year.

A $100 U. S. Bond

(5-20, with 6 per cent. interest-bearing coupons attached, payable in gold), will be paid to the person who sends, by or before November 1st, the largest number of paid-in subscriptions for the National Anti-Slavery Standard for 1867; also 75 cents commission for each yearly subscription, in addition to the Bond.

Wendell Phillips is Special Editorial Contributor.

Address AARON M. POWELL,
Editor of the National Anti-Slavery Standard,
39 Nassau street, New York.

A Meeting of the Pennsylvania Peace Society will be held at Friends Meeting-House, Germantown, Pa., 9th month, 22d, at 3 p.m. A number of speakers will be present.

Mr. Richard Mason, of Baltimore, Md., will hereafter act as Agent for The Standard in that city. His address is No. 27 West Fayette street.

The Standard in New Orleans.—The Standard may now be obtained regularly each week in New Orleans of A. Simon, Esq., No. 85 Barome street.

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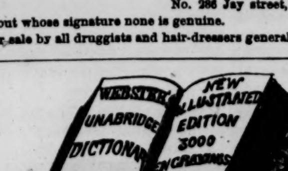

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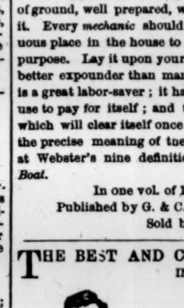

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BY JOHN T. SARGENT.

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A loftiness of soul,
Which may go with us everywhere,
And all our deeds control.

Bring home that scent of flowers,
A purity of heart,
Whose odor sanctifies the hours
While we are forced to part!

Bring us that strength of weakness
Which from the ground you glean,
Humility and meekness,
The "flowers that blush unseen;"

Wild roses from the hedges,
Sweet temper, love of truth,
Faith, hope and love, the pledges
Of joy to age and youth.

Bring home that shaded path
Which windeth through the wood,
The inward self-restraint which hath
The charm of solitude.

Bring us the sight of mountains,
High motives, lofty aims,
Whence issue all the fountains
Of virtue and great names.

Bring home those lovely songs
Of the dear little birds;
And let us see how God prolongs
Their music in your words!

Bring us that quiet lake,
A sovereign peace of mind
Which all our thirst of soul doth slake,
With no unrest behind!

—*Boston Transcript.*

TEMPERANCE.

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED AT SALEM, N. H., JULY 4, 1867, BY REV. T. L. FLOOD.

We ought, however, to make our attacks as defensive warriors, on the vulnerable points of our enemy, the fountain, capitol and headquarters of the system. Prohibition against the manufacturer is, we believe, to be the watchword in this reform in time to come, and for this we plead to-day.

1. Some object that we are aiming at this by using prohibition on the retail dealer. This is not the way we work out great reforms. To be sure, for a great number of years we attacked the outskirts of slavery, but we failed to free the slaves until we struck the shackles from their limbs, and it was just so in warring the rebellion when we captured the rebel armies and took their muskets, horses and wagons, their swords, carbines and artillery, when we stripped them of weapons of war and sent them to their homes to engage in the peaceful avocations of life, then the Confederacy failed and expired; and it is very little use to hope for the end of this struggle against the rum traffic, so long as we simply attack the drinker with moral suasion, and the retail dealer with law. These are only the outposts in this system of wrong, while the heart of the traffic is full of life and strength, and its beatings send waves of destruction to the nation's remotest bounds.

2. Prohibition is a good weapon if it can be used at the right points; but if it is so made that we cannot use it, either North, South, or West, and must direct it towards the East all the time, all the country behind and on either side of us will be filled with our enemies preparing the storms which will be constantly breaking over the eastern lines, and like fire in stubble it will run riot. Measured by the rules used to bring about other great reforms, this plan is not perfection, neither does it come as near it as we know it might; so it is when law against the retail dealer, or law against the manufacturer is to be chosen, that we would vote most heartily for the latter, because we believe it would be the most effective. But then, heavy taxation, it is said, will have some effect in preventing the manufacture of ardent spirits. It has already been demonstrated by facts, as taxes go up rum goes up, and with this tame opposition the traffic gathers new life and can live through all time in spite of it.

3. It is argued again that we need spirituous liquors for medicines and the arts. We accept the decision of learned medical men that the human system is better without than with this kind of a remedy, especially since liquors of this day are defiled with the poisons of a wholesale drug store. In the arts we feel our need of spirits. If we could confine them to this sphere of action it might be well to produce them, but when men use more to run the machinery of the body than is used in the works of art, would it not be well to choose the least evil, and employ inventions to seek a new element as a substitute for rum in the arts, that men may not have the temptation before them, and that the States may not lead their citizens into temptation by tolerating such a wrong.

4. The greatest objection that some people may find to destroying the power to manufacture rum will probably be imported from foreign countries. We would that there was no greater hindrance to carrying this plan into successful operation than this, because this one is overcome by our quarantine laws, while some other objections are found in a want of law.

If the decision of Judge McLean of the Supreme Court of the United States in 1847, and concurred in by the court, is correct, then we may by a high tone of temperance sentiment take our present quarantine laws and prevent the transportation of a single gallon of grog to our shores. He decided that it was the settled construction of every regulation of commerce that no person can introduce into a community malignant diseases, or anything which contaminates its morals, or endangers its safety. As rum both contaminates the morals and endangers the safety of our people we can with this construction of the law be redeemed as a nation from the importation of this foreign curse.

If, however, this was done, it is objected that grapes would be raised and wine manufactured out of them all over the country as is now done in California. But as that eminent divine, Dr. Stone suggests, we may have to come to the point of prohibiting this practice, and compel men who would engage in it to make money, to try that in some other sphere.

But, it is asked, can we prohibit the manufacturing of wine and other strong drinks? Surely if our legislatures can enact prohibitory laws against the retail dealers and keep in harmony with the Constitution of the States, and of the United States, they can enact a similar law against the manufacturer; and indeed, we have authority for this view in a decision of Chief-Justice Taney. He said, "If any State deem the retail or internal traffic in ardent spirits injurious to its citizens, and calculated to produce idleness, vice or debauchery, I see nothing in the Constitution of the United States to prevent it (the State) from regulating or restraining the traffic, or from prohibiting it altogether if it thinks proper." This decision is so sweeping that comment is unnecessary. A State may prohibit this traffic altogether if it thinks proper. That is just what we are pleading for; it is just what we need, and what we must have to bring this struggle to a speedy close. If we use prohibitory law against the retail dealer when he has bought and paid for his rum, and paid a government tax on it, and paid for a license to sell, there is gross inconsistency in our not going farther and taking away the manufacturer's liberty to produce the article, which would save the nation from a show of encouraging this evil, by being compelled to collect taxes on it. We say, let us bring this point before the people and make it an issue, because it is a vital one in this struggle, and is well worthy the consideration of every temperance man. This is plainer when we consider that there would be great advantages gained by this new position. At present we are met on every hand with the assertion backed with some show of argument, that we are trying to force men to be temperate and good. This idea originated in the efforts to enforce the present prohibitory law at so many points in the presence of so many interested parties. When our officers go into a bar-room to seize the rum, and arrest its owner, there is most generally quite a number of drinkers present who are in hearty sympathy with the landlord; and the law has to be enforced against a stronghold of adverse opinion and feeling aside from the proprietor. We suggest that instead of enforcing the law against so much outside opposition, and before the eyes of every community, turn the law against the manufacturers where not half the people will have their sympathies enlisted by seeing a man's business broken up, and where craven appetite will not be present to cry for my rum, my rum.

Let law be used against the manufacturer, and we could concentrate our temperance forces. At present we are attacking a great many outposts of this rum rebellion, and our forces are divided. This proved to be bad generalship during our war with the South, and it is equally so here. We cannot find enough of bold, determined temperance men to enforce the law at every point. Hence if we could attack less than half the number of points, as we would if our efforts were directed against the manufacturers, we could overthrow this evil with less effort, less expense, and if we had the law on our statute books to-day, with much less discussion and disturbance of the public mind than we now have in the enforcement of the present law.

DISHONESTY IN TRADE.

BY HENRY WARD BEECHER.

A man brings a pearl into your shop, and, holding it up, says: "I was fishing down on the bank, and I found this thing. I don't know whether it is worth anything or not, but they told me I could get a dollar for it." It is worth five hundred dollars! "Oh yes," you say, "I guess it is worth that. I will give you a dollar for it." And you take the pearl and give him the dollar; and you chuckle over it, and boast of it. You not only do not think that you have done that which is dishonest, but you go to your partner, and hold up the pearl, and exultingly say, "I bought it for a dollar." And when you go home at night you rub your hands, and say, "My dear, I had a rare stroke of luck to-day." "What was it?" asks the wife. "Why an ignorant fisherman came into the shop with a magnificent pearl, and I gave him a dollar for it; and he went away as tickled as any man could be—and I guess I was another man that was quite as happy as he was!" Oh, that the woman could use a woman's office! Oh, that she could give expression to her moral judgment! Oh, that she could flush and say, "I am ashamed of you!" Oh, that there could be in every household a faithful companion to rebuke these tendencies to cheating! For I call it nothing less than cheating.

I suppose this is that which we feel when we hunt out old picture-stores and grope round for ancient and blackened canvasses, hoping that that which we buy for a mere song, on being washed and rubbed and restored, will prove to be a Raphael, a Titian, or something of that kind. A hereditary property, after being handed down from generation to generation, at last comes into the hands of some poor, uneducated woman; and with other things that she does not understand the value of, there is an old black-faced picture. A man goes and looks at it, and says to himself, "I should not be surprised if that was a magnificent Murillo." He sees that the woman is unconscious of its value, and he takes care not to have her discover that he suspects it to be valuable. But whenever he can get a chance without being observed, he goes to it, and begins to work at one corner of it, rubbing and scraping it. He steals in at different times and continues the rubbing and scraping, using various turpentines and varnishes.

And by and by he begins to see the end of a figure—a foot, and he says, "Nobody painted that foot that was not a master painter." But he affects ignorance, and takes the woman at an advantage, and buys it. And he is anxious to get it home as quickly as possible. He takes it, and fairly runs down the street for fear the woman may call him back. He succeeds in getting it away without awakening any suspicion, and is delighted. He at once puts it into the hands of a restorer, and it turns out to be a picture worth fifteen hundred dollars. And all his life he boasts of how he got it, and in relating the circumstance says: "It cost me a ridiculous sum; I paid next to nothing for it." It is among the great events of his history. He is so unconscious of the simple law of honor and right that as long as he lives he sits on this fault and crows his own shame!

THE HUMAN HAND.

Even a philosopher is overwhelmed with astonishment when he reflects with any degree of attention on the mechanical structure of the hand. In the first place, the framework of the organ, the bones entering into the composition of that member, is a masterpiece of aggregated contrivances, which throw into the shade the most perfect contrivance of man in point of combinations and efficiency.

From the shoulder to the tips of the fingers there are thirty-two distinct bones, curiously articulated one with another, which could not be imitated with any expectation of success, viz: one shoulder-blade, one collar-bone, one arm-bone, two in the fore-arm, eight in the carpus or wrist, five in the palm of the hand, two in the thumb, and twelve in the fingers. Next, to move those thirty-two bones in all the directions they were designed to act, there is a perfect labyrinth of delicate cordage; which, when separated and delicately displayed, shows that there are forty-six muscles—and some anatomists make more—to extend, bend, turn, clinch, unclinch, nip, squeeze, and make all the movements which we can give the arm and hand by simply willing so to do.

But in order that the mind may hold positive control over those thirty differently-formed bones by the forty-six muscles, of which no two are alike, there are long nerves running like telegraphic wires from the arm-pit to the smallest fibre of every muscle. From the plexus in the axilla or arm-pit, the nerves hold communication, through the intervention of other nerve threads, with the brain. One set of nerves, or rather telegraphic cords, convey messages to the fingers, and another set send back word to the brain of the reception of the order, and how business is transpiring.

Besides all these complications, to nourish and keep the several parts vitalized, there are arteries, veins, lymphatics, abrorbents, exhalent tubes and tissues almost beyond enumeration, to keep the whole in working order. And when in good condition, what power it exerts! It conveys an ineffable language, which even brute animals understand. It menaces, invites, repels, or gives character and grandeur to the expressions of an orator. It is a hammer, a vice, a punch, a wrench, a lever, a pry, a force and a mighty power by which the pyramids were reared, cathedrals called into being from the hardest quarries; and all that is amazing, surprising, delicate, or calculated to advance civilization in art, literature and science, is accomplished by those wonderful instruments—human hands.

The Musical Powers of the Chinese.—The following interesting particulars have been received in England from a gentleman in Hong Kong, who is engaged in teaching a tonic sol-fa singing-class there:

"I believe this to be almost the first attempt to teach the reading of music to this wonderful people. The Chinese themselves have no tunes and no idea of music. Their instruments can produce but two or three tones, and their singing is screeching in falsetto to no kind of tune. The conventional terms of 'high' and 'low' are utterly unknown to them. Why, they ask, should a shrill note be 'up' and 'down?' Their voices are harsh to a painful degree, and their talent for flattening wonderful. They must never be asked to go above D, and after half an hour's singing lose all command of their voices. They also incline to bawl." But, notwithstanding all these hindrances, the experiment seems to be succeeding. The tonic sol-fa method seems adapted for the Chinese as well as the English. The writer continues: "If the new tune set before them be an easy one, it is positively sung the first time without an error; if a difficult one, two or three trials may be required." The class has been formed into a choir for Union Church. Dr. Legge, of the London Missionary Society, has printed them some tunes in Chinese tonic sol-fa, and the result is that 'the service of song is improved and improving.'"

Progress of the West.—A correspondent of the Cincinnati *Gazette* writes:

Seventy-three years ago the first boat started from Cincinnati up the river. It was bullet proof, equipped with two cannon and small arms. The round trip to Pittsburg was made in about four weeks. At that time the Queen City was a mere military post, which three years afterwards only contained five hundred inhabitants. Pittsburg was a little nest of unclean birds, built away up in the forks of this great highway of nature, and between these two points a wilderness stretched on either side of the river, whose wild grandeur was only emphasized by the two or three dots which had been made by the forerunners of the coming civilization. Seventy-three years elapse and Fort Washington, with a population of two or three hundred, is Cincinnati, with a population of 250,000; Pittsburg is no longer a nest, but it is a great city, whose breath of smoke and thousand tongues of flame heat the very atmosphere that surrounds it; the two or three dots of civilization between these points have multiplied into a hundred and ten thriving cities and villages, all palpitating with the industry of a free and prosperous people. The steamers that now ply the river, could they all be brought together, would make a floating city in which a hundred thousand people could dwell in comfort.

INFLUENCE.

BY FRANK FOXCROFT.

Wandering once along the sea,
A sudden impulse came to me.

A little stone, so very small
That it scarce seemed to have weight at all,

I seized with opened hand and threw
Into the waters deep and blue.

The ripples outward and onward spread,
As the stone sank down to the ocean's bed,

Circling ever far and wide,
On the rugged waves of the flowing tide.

Quoth I to myself "There's a lesson here,
That may well be learned with loving fear.

Every man, and woman, and child,
Is a pebble thrown into the waters wild;

Every stone some motion imparts
In this turbulent sea of hearts;

For nothing there is so weak and small,
As to leave no trace of power at all.

And the rippled waves of this troubled sea
Will be seen and felt in Eternity."

Pittsfield Mass., 1867.

AN ORIENTAL LIGHT.

It is impossible for those who have never visited the glowing East to form an adequate idea of the exceeding beauty of an Oriental light. The sky—which bends enamored over the clusters of graceful palm-trees, fringing some slow-moving stream, or groves of dark motionless cypresses rising up like Gothic spires from the midst of the white flat-roofed villages—is of the deepest darkest purple, unstained by the faintest film of vapor, undimmed by a single fleecy cloud. It is the very image of purity and peace, idealizing the dull earth with its beauty, elevating sense into the sphere of soul, and suggesting thoughts and earnings too tender and ethereal to be invested with human language. Through its transparent depths the eye wanders dreamily upward until it loses itself on the threshold of other worlds. Over the dark mountain-ranges, the lonely moon walks in brightness, clothing the landscape with the pale glories of a mimic day; while the zodiacal light far more distinct and vivid than it is ever seen in this country, diffuses a mild pyramidal radiance above the horizon, like the after-glow of sunset. Constellations, tremulous with excess of brightness, sparkle in the heavens, associated with classical myths and legends which are a mental inheritance to every educated man from his earliest years. There the ship Argo sails over the trackless upper ocean in search of the golden fleece of Colchis; there Perseus, returning from the conquest of the Gorgons, holds in his hand the terrible head of Medusa; there the virgin Andromeda, chained naked to the rock awaits in agony the approach of the devouring monster; the luxuriant yellow hair of Berenice hangs suspended as a votive offering to Venus; while the dim misty track formed by the milk that dropped from Juno's breast, and which, as it fell upon the earth, changed the lilies from purple to a snowy whiteness, extends across the heavens, like the ghost of a rainbow. Conspicuous among them all, far up towards the zenith, old Orion, with his blazing belt, meets the admiring eye, suggestive of gentle memories and kind thoughts of home; while immediately beyond is seen the familiar cluster of the Pleaides, or the Seven Sisters, glittering and quivering with the radiance of the amethystine ether, like a breastplate of jewels—the Urim and Thummin of the Eternal.

NATIVES OF WALRUSSIA.

The savage tribes who are natives of the extreme northwestern coast of America are comprised under the generic name of Kaloches of Sitka, recognize as the founders of their race, a man whom they call Elkin, who dwelt under the especial favor and protection of the crow, a bird whom they worship as the first cause of all things. What created the crow, or what gave that interesting black bird such power, the Kaloches profess ignorance, and they dispose of the question by the customary answer in such cases—*i. e.*, that it was ordained from the beginning. They have also the tradition of a universal deluge, from which their ancestors were saved by some escaping in boats to the tops of the highest mountains. The Kaloches believe that the soul exists after death, but without being subject either to reward or punishment. They have few religious observances, but human sacrifices form one of them. The victims are always slaves, and the only slaves in Russian America are captives taken in war. The master has plenary power of life or death over his slaves, and cruelty toward their enemies is a distinguishing feature of all these savage tribes. In the minds of the most of them every stranger is regarded as an enemy.

The whole education of these savages from their birth is aimed at the sole end of fortifying their bodies to endure every species of hardship. If they feel cold they are stripped naked and seated in a tub of cold water. Sometimes the Kaloches are found in the depths of the forest sleeping around a fire, one side nearly roasted, while the other is covered with frost. They are of a phlegmatic temperament, despise death, and are brave to the verge of desperation in battle. In the ordinary affairs of life they are indolent and careless. They marry without priest or ceremony, and their rich men have as many as four wives apiece. The chief art practiced among them is the building of canoes, in which they are much skilled. They are great lovers of feasts, and this means among them, eating a gluttonous quantity of food and following it up with a dance. It is their custom to burn the bodies of their dead at a great funeral in the presence of the weeping relatives of the departed.

Perseverance under Difficulties Rewarded.—Early this Spring a pair of blue birds commenced a nest in one of the ventilators of a car on the South Reading Branch railroad, which car arrived at South Reading at 5½ p.m., and is set on a side track until 8 a.m., when it is used for the day between South Reading and Salem. The birds finished their nest and laid five eggs, from which they hatched three young ones. When they were a few days old the car was taken to Salem and kept over night, and the exposure proved fatal to the young brood, but the parents cleared the nest, and in 48 hours commenced laying again.

This time she laid 4 eggs, and hatched but one, which is now some ten days old. Conductor Charles Skinner feels confident that this one will live. The car has run over 1,000 miles since the eggs were laid. The old bird sits on an apple-tree near the track with its mouth full of insects, patiently waiting for its family to get to its accustomed place before it attempts to feed its charge. The usual time required by these birds to hatch their eggs is about 14 days, but in this case 20 were required, owing to the eggs being uncovered from 8 a.m., till 5½ p.m. The young hero is fat and hearty, although he gets but two meals per day.—*Boston Traveller.*

Lord Mansfield.—This great magistrate being in one of the counties on the circuit, a poor woman was indicted for witchcraft. The inhabitants of the place were exasperated against her. Some witnesses deposed that they had seen her walk in the air, and with her feet upward and her head downward. Lord Mansfield heard the evidence with great tranquility, and perceiving the temper of the people, whom it would not have been prudent to irritate, he thus addressed them: "I do not doubt that this woman has walked in the air with her feet upward, since you have all seen it; but she has the honor to be born in England as well as you and I, and consequently cannot be judged but by the laws of the country, nor punished but in proportion as she has violated them. Now I know not one law that forbids walking in the air with the feet upward. We have all a right to do it with impunity. I see no reason, therefore, for this prosecution, and this poor woman may return home when she pleases." Her life was saved.

Edinburgh contains a unique monument to Hume and the political martyrs. Glasgow is about to emulate the northern metropolis. A monument has just been erected in the City Cemetery to the memory of Andrew Hardie, John Baird, and James Wilson, who were executed in 1820 for the part they took in the Radical movement of that period. The pedestal bears the inscription, "They were noble pioneers of human progress, and died for the cause of freedom now triumphant." In the same city a man named Marshall is in custody for breaking the handsome "Baird Memorial Window." This memorial was placed in the west window of the cathedral at a cost of £2,000. The miscreant pretended that his motive was ill-will towards the Church.

A Human Body and the Hour of Day.—Seat yourself at a table. Attach a piece of metal (say a shilling) to a thread. Having placed your elbow on a table, hold the thread between the points of the thumb and fore-finger, and allow the shilling to hang in the centre of a glass tumbler, the pulse will immediately cause the shilling to vibrate like a pendulum, and the vibrations will increase until the shilling strikes the side of the glass; and suppose the time of experiment be the hour of seven, or half-past seven, the pedulum will strike the glass seven times, and then lose its momentum and return to the centre; if you hold the thread a sufficient length of time the effect will be repeated; but not until a sufficient space of time has elapsed to convince you that the experiment is complete. We need not add that the thread must be held in a steady hand, otherwise the vibrating motion would be counteracted. At whatever hour of the day or night the experiment is made, the coincidence will be the same.

A Clergyman, on one occasion, having preached a most solemn discourse, afterwards met with a number of his friends in company where he gave a full scope to his wit, when one of his ministerial brethren said to him: "How is it, after preaching solemnly, you indulge in light conversation?" "I give vent," he replied, "to my nonsense by the fire side—you deal yours from the pulpit."

A Lady in East Brooklyn, N. Y., recently discovered a very neat birds' nest in her garden, composed principally of Valenciennes lace, worth about one dollar per yard. A piece of seven yards formed the lining of the nest. The lady had missed the lace, and supposed her domestics had stolen it.

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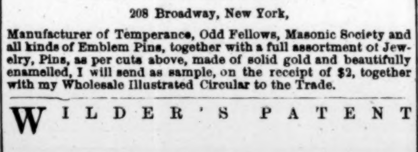

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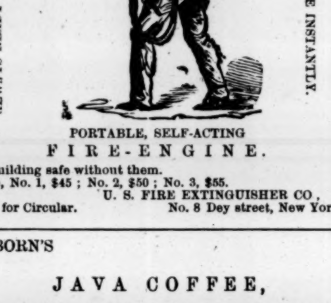

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